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A
DISCOURSE
OF
INFALLIBILITY.

With Mr. *Thomas White's* Answer
to it, and a Reply to him;

By Sr. *Lucius Cary*, late Lord Vis-
count of Falkland.



Also Mr. *Walter Montague* (Abbot of *Nanteuil*) his
Letter against Protestantism; and his Lordship's answer
thereunto, with Mr *John Pearson's* Preface.

The Second Edition.

To which are now added two discourses of Episcopacy.
by the said *Viscount Falkland*, and his Friend
Mr. William Chillingworth.

Published according to the Original Copies.



LONDON,
Printed for *William Neale*, Bookseller in *ambrose*,
and are to be sold there, and at the *Crown*
in *Duck-lane* 1660.

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DISCOUNT
INFALLIBILITY
With Mr. Jones's Answer



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A

S P E E C H

CONCERNING

EPISCOPACY.

Mr. Speaker,

WHosoever desires this totall change of our present Government, desires it either out of a conceit that is *unlawfull*, or *inconvenient*. To both these, I shall say something. To the first, being able to make no such arguments to prove it so my self, as I conceive likely to be made within the walls of so wise a House, I can make no answer to them, till I hear them from some other; which then (if they perswade me not) by the liberty of a Committee, I shall do. But this in generall. In the mean time, I shall say, that the ground of this government of Episcopacy, being so *ancient*, and so *generall*, so *uncontradicted* in the *first* and *best* times, that our most laborious Antiquaries can find no *Nation*, no *City*, no *Church*, nor *Houses* under any other; that our first Ecclesiasticall Authors tell us, that the *Apostles* not onely allow'd but *founded* Bishops (so that the

tradition

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Episcopacy proved to be neither

tradition for *some* Books of *Scripture*, which we receive as Canonically, is both lesse ancient, lesse generall, and lesse uncontradicted,) I must ask leave to say, that though the Myserie of iniquity began suddenly to work, yet it did not instantly prevail; it could not ayme at the end of the race, as soon as it was started; nor could Antichristianism in so short a time have become so Catholique.

To the second, this I say, that in this Government there is no *inconvenience* which might not be sufficiently remedied without destroying the whole; and though we had not par'd their Nails, or rather their Tongues; (I mean the High-Commission,) though we should neither give them the direction of strict rules, nor the addition of choise *Affidets* (both which we may do, and suddenly I hope we shall;) yet the fear sunk into them of this Parliament, and the expectation of a Triennial one, would be such banks to these rivers, that we need fear their inundations no more.

Next I say, that if some inconvenience did appear in this, yet since it may also appear, that the change will breed greater, I desire those who are led to change by *inconveniences* onely, that they will suspend their opinions, till they see what is to be laid in the other ballance, which I will endeavour.

The inconveniences of the change are double, some that it should be yet done, others, that it should be at all done. The first again, double, 1. Because we have not done what we should do first; and 2. Because others have not done what they should do first; That which we should do first, is, to agree of a succeeding Form of Government, that every man, when he gives his Vote to the destruction of this, may be sure that he destroys not ~~this~~, which he likes better than that which shall succeed it. I conceive no man will at this time give this Vote, who doth not believe this Government to be the worst that can possibly be devised; and for my part, if this be thus proposterously done, and we left in this blind uncertainty (what shall become of us!) I shall not onely

only doubt all the inconveniences, which any Government *hath*, but which any Government *may* have. This I insist on the rather, because if we should find cause to wish for this back again, we could not have it, the means being dispersed. To restore it again would be a miracle in State, like that of the resurrection to Nature.

That which *others* should do first, is, to be gone. For if you will do this, yet things standing as they do, no great cause appearing for so great a change, I fear a great *Army* may be thought to be the *cause*. And I therefore desire (to be sure that *Newcastle* may not be suspected to have any influence upon *London*;) that this may not be done, till our Brethren be returned to their Patrimony.

We are now past the inconveniences in point of Time; I now proceed. And my first inconvenience of this change, is, the inconvenience of change it self, which is so great an inconvenience, when the Change is great and suddain, that in such cases, when it is not *necessary* to change, it is necessary *not* to change. To a person formerly intemperate, I have known the first prescription of an excellent Physician, to forbear *too good* a diet for a good while. We have lived long happily, and gloriously, under this Form of Government; Episcopacy hath very well agreed with the constitution of our Laws, with the disposition of our People: how any other will do, I the lesse know, because I know not of any other, of which so much as *any* other *Monarchy* hath had any experience; they *all* having (as I conceive) at least Superintendents for *life*: and the meer *word* Bishop, I suppose, is no man's aime to destroy, nor no man's aim to defend.

Next, Sir, I am of opinion, that *most* men *desire* * not this change, or else I am certain there hath been very suddenly a great change in men. Severall Petitions indeed desire it, but knowing how concern'd and how united that party is, how few would be wanting to so good a work, even those hands which value their number to others, are an

* See the Collection of Petitions for Episcopacy; printed for Will. Shears.

4 *The hurt of Learned men, and Learning.*

gument of their paucity to me. The numberless number of those of a different sense, appear not so publickely and cry not so loud, being persons more quiet, as secure in the goodnesse of their Lawes, and the wisdom of their Law-makers; And because men petition for what they have not, and not for what they have, perhaps that the Bishops may not know how many friends their Order hath, lest they be encouraged to abuse their authority, if they knew it to be so generally approved. Now, Sir, though we are trusted by those that sent us, in cases wherein their opinions were unknown; yet truly if I knew the opinion of the major part of my Town, I doubt whether it were the intention of those that trusted me, that I should follow my own opinion against theirs. "At least, let us stay till the next Session, and consult more particularly with them about it."

Next, Sir, it will be the destruction of many Estates, in which many, who *may be* very innocent persons, are legally vested, and of many persons who undoubtedly are innocent, whose dependances are upon those estates. The Apostle saith, *he that provides not for his family, is worse then an Infidel*. This belongs in some analogy to us; and truly, Sir, we provide ill for our Family (the Common-wealth) if we suffer a considerable part of it to be turned out of doors. So that, for any care is taken by this Bill for new dwelling, (and I will never consent they shall play an after-game, for all they have) either we must see them starve in the streets before us, or (to avoid that) we must ship them some-whither away, like the *Moors* out of *Spain*.

From the hurt of the *Learned* I come to that of *Learning*; and desire you to consider, whether, when all considerable maintenance shall be reduced to cure of Souls, all studies, will not be reduced to those which are in order to *Preaching*; the *Arts* and *Languages*, and even eminent skill in *Controversies* (to which great leisure and great means is required) much neglected, and (to the joy and gain of our common Adversary,) *Synagogs*, *Posfills*, *Catechisms*,

The hurt of Learned men, and Learning. 5

chisms, Commentators, and Concordances, almost onely bought, and the rest of Libraries remain rather as of ornament, then as of use. I do not deny but for all this want, the wit of some hath attempted both, and the parts of some few have served to discharge both, as those of Calvin, to advise about, and dispatch more Temporall brifnesse into the bargain, than all our Privy-Councell; yet such abilities are extreemly rare, and very few will ever p each mce a Sunday, and be any match for Bellarmine. Nay I fear, Sir, that this will make us to have fewer able even in Preaching it self, as it is separated from generall Learning, for I fear many whose parts, friends, and means, might make them hope for better advancements in other courses, when these shall be taken away from this, will be less ready to imbrace it; and though it were to be wisht, that all men should onely undertake those Embassages, with reference to His Honour Whose Embassadors they are; yet I doubt not but many, who have entred into the Church by the Door, (or rather by the Window,) have done it (after) great and sincere service; and better reasons have made them labour in the vineyard, than brought them thither at first: and though the meer love of God ought to make us good, though there were no reward or punishment, yet it would be very inconvenient to piety, that hope of Heaven and fear of Hell were taken away.

The next inconvenience, I fear, is this; that if we should take away a Government which hath as much testimony of the first antiquity to have been founded by the *Apostles*, as can be brought for some parts of *Scripture* to have been written by them, lest this may avert some of our Church from us, and river some of the *Roman Church* to her; and (as I remember) the *Apostle* commands us to be carefull, *not to give scandall even to those that are without*. Sir, It hath been said, that we have a better way to know *Scripture* than by Tradition; I dispute not this, Sir, but I know that Tradition is the onely argument to prove *Scripture* to another,

6 *Episcopacy founded by the Apostles.*

another, and the first to every mans self, being compared to the Samaritan Woman's report, which made many first believe in Christ, though they after believed him for himself. And I therefore would not have this so far weakened to us, as to take away Episcopacy as unlawfull, which is so far by Tradition proved to be lawfull.

The next inconvenience that I fear, is this: having observed those generally who are against Bishops (I will not now speak of such as are among us, who by being selected from the rest, are to be hoped to be freer then ordinary, from vulgar passions) to have somewhat more animosity against those who are for them, then *vice versa*; left when they shall have prevailed against the Bishops, they be so far encouraged against their partakers, and will so have discouraged their adversaries, as in time to induce a *necessity* upon others, at least of the Clergy, to believe them as unlawfull as they themselves do, and to assent to other of their opinions yet *left at large*. Which will be a way to deprive us, I think, of not our worst, I am sure of our most learned Ministers; and to send a greater Colonie to *New England*, then it hath been said this Bill will recall from thence.

I come now from the inconveniences of taking away this Government, to the *inconveniences of that which shall succeed it*: and to this I can speak but by guesse, and groping, because I have no light given me what that shall be; onely I hope I shall be excused for shooting at random, since you will set me up no Butt to shoot at. The first, I fear the *Scotch Government* will either presently be taken; or if any other succeed for a while, yet the unity and industry of those of that opinion in this Nation, assisted by the counsell and friendship of that, will shortly bring it in, if any lesse opposite Government to it be here placed than that of Episcopacy. And indeed Sir; since any other Government than theirs will by no means give any satisfaction to their desire of uniformity; since all they who

The Scotch government inconvenient. 7

who see not the dishonour and ill consequences of it, will be unwilling to deny their Brethren what they esteem indifferent; since our own Government being destroyed, we shall in all likelihood be aptest to receive that which is both next at hand and ready made: For these reasons I look upon it as probable; and for the following ones, as inconvenient.

When some Bishops pretended to *Jure divino* (though nothing so likely to be believed by the People, as those would be, nor consequently to hurt us by that pretence) this was cry'd out upon as destructive to His Majestie's Supremacy, who was to be confessed to be the Fountain of Jurisdiction in this Kingdom. Yet to *Jure divino* the Scotch Ecclesiasticall government pretends, To meet when they please, to treat of what they please, to excommunicate whom they please, even Parliaments themselves; so far are they from receiving either rules or punishments from them. And for us to bring in any *unlimited*, any *Independent* authority, the first is against the Liberty of the Subject, the second against the Right and Priviledge of Parliament; and both against the Protestation.

If it be said, that this *unlimitednesse* and *independence* is onely in Spirituall things; I answer first, that arbitrary Government being the worst of Governments, and our *Bodies* being worse than our *Souls*, it will be strange to set up that over the second, of which we were so impatient over the first. Secondly, that M. *Solicitor* speaking about the Power of the Clergy, to make Canons to bind, did excellently inform us, what a mighty influence Spiritual power hath upon Temporal affairs. So that if our Clergy had the one, they had inclusively almost all the other. And to this I may adde, (what all men may see,) the vast Temporall power of the Pope allow'd him by such who allow it him onely *in ordine ad Spiritualia*: for the Fable will tell you, if you make the Lyon
B judge,

8 *The Scotch government inconvenient:*

judge (and the Clergy, assisted by the people, is Lyon enough) it was a wise fear of the Foxe's, lest he might call a knubb a horn. And sure, Sir, they will in this case be Judges, not onely of that which is Spiritual, but of what it is that is so: and the people receiving instruction from no other, will take the most Temporal matter to be Spiritual, if they tell them it is so.

The



The Apostolical Institution of
Episcopacy ; demonstrated by
Mr. William Chillingworth.

SECT. I.

IF we abstract from *Episcopal Govern-*
ment all accidentals, and consider onely
what is essential and necessary to it ; we
shall find in it no more but this. An
appointment of one man of eminent
sanctity and sufficiency to have the care
of all the Churches, within a certain
Precinct or Diocese ; and furnishing him with authority
(not absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by
Laws, and moderated by joyning to him a convenient num-
ber of assistants) to the intent that all the Churches under
him may be provided of good and able Pastors : and that
both of Pastours and people, conformity to Laws, and per-
formance of their duties may be required, under penalties,
not left to discretion, but by Law appointed.

SECT. 2. To this kind of Government I am not by any
particular interest so devoted, as to think it ought to be
maintained, either in opposition to Apostolick Institution ;
or to the much desired reformation of mens lives, and re-
stitution of Primitive discipline ; or to any Law or Pre-
cept of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ : for that were to
maintain a means contrary to the end ; for obedience to our
Saviour, is the end for which Church-Government is appoin-

10 The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy,

ted. But if it may be *demonstrated* (or made much more probable than the contrary) as I verily think it may : I. That it is not repugnant to the government settled in and for the Church by the Apostles. II. That it is as comply'ble with the reformation of any evill which we desire to reform either in Church or State, or the introduction of any good which we desire to introduce, as any other kind of Government : And III. That there is *no* Law, *no* Record of our Saviour against it : then I hope it will not be thought an unreasonable motion, if we humbly desire those that are in authority, especially the High Court of Parliament, that in may not be sacrificed to clamour, or over-borne by violence : and though (which God forbid) the greater part of the multitude should cry, *Crucifixe, Crucifixe* ; yet our Governours would be so full of Justice and Courage, as not to give it up, untill they perfectly understand concerning Episcopacy in self, *Quid mali fecit*.

SECT. 3. I shall speak at this time onely of the first of these three points : That Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles. Whereof I conceive this which follows is as clear a demonstration, as any thing of this nature is capable of.

That this Government was received universally in the Church, either in the Apostles time, or presently after, is so evident and unquestionable, that the most learned adversaries of this Government do themselves confesse it.

SECT. 4. *Petrus Molinaus* in his Book *De munere pastoralis*, purposely written in defence of the Presbyterial-government, acknowledgeth : That presently after the Apostles times, or even in their time (as Ecclesiastical story witnesseth) it was ordained, That in every City one of the presbytery should be called a Bishop, who should have pre-eminence over his Colleagues ; to avoid confusion which oft times ariseth out of equality. And truely, this form of Government all Churches every where received.

SECT. 5. *Theodorus Beza* in his Tract, *De triplici Episco-*

demonstrated by Mr. Chillingworth. 11

Episcopatus genere, confesseth in effect the same thing. For having distinguished Episcopacy into three kinds, *Divine*, *Humane*, and *Satanical*, and attributing to the second (which he calls *Humane*, but we maintain and conceive to be *Apostolical*) not only a priority of order, but a superiority of power, and authority over other Presbyters, bounded yet by Laws and Canons provided against Tyranny: he clearly professeth that of this kind of Episcopacy, is to be understood whatsoever we read concerning the authority of Bishops (or Presidents, as *Justin Martyr* call them) in *Ignatius*, and other more ancient Writers.

SECT. 6. Certainly from these two great defenders of the Presbytery, we should never have had this free acknowledgement, (so prejudicial to their own pretence, and so advantageous to their adversaries purpose) had not the evidence of clear and undeniable truth enforced them to it. It will not therefore be necessary, to spend any time in confuting that uningenuous assertion of the anonymous Author of the Catalogue of Testimonies, for the equality of Bishops and Presbyters, who affirms, That their disparity began long after the Apostles times: But we may safely take for granted that which these two learned Adversaries have confessed; and see, whether upon this foundation layd by them, we may not by unanswerable reason raise this superstructure;

“That seeing Episcopal Government is confessedly so Ancient and so Catholique, it cannot with reason be denied to be Apostolique.

SECT. 7. For so great a change, as between Presbyterial Government and Episcopal, could not possibly have prevailed all the world over in a little time. Had Episcopal Government been an aberration from (or a corruption of) the Government left in the Churches by the Apostles, it had been very strange, that it should have been received in any one Church so suddenly, or that it should have prevailed in all for many Ages after. *Variasse debuerat error Ecclesiarum: quod autem apud omnes unum est, non est erratum,*

To whom two others also from Geneva may be added: *Daniel Chamierus* (in *Panstratia*, tom. 2. lib. 1 o. cap. 6. §. 14.) and *Nicol. Vedelius* (*Exercit. 3. in epist. Ignatii ad Philadelph. cap. 14. & Exercit. 8. in epist. ad Mariam, cap. 3.*) which is fully also demonstrated in *D. Hammonds dissertations against Blondel* (which never were answered, & never will) by the testimonies of those who wrote in the very next Age after the Apostles.

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sed traditum. Had the Churches err'd, they would have varied: What therefore is one and the same amongst all, came not sure by error, but tradition. Thus Tertullian argues very probably, from the consent of the Churches of his time, not long after the Apostles, and that in matter of opinion much more subject to unobserv'd alteration. But that in the frame and substance of the necessary Government of the Church, a thing alwayes in use and practice, there should be so suddain a change as presently after the Apostles times; and so universal, as received in all the Churches; this is clearly impossible.

SECT. 8. For what universal cause can be assigned or faigned of this *universal* Apostasie? you will not imagine that the Apostles, all or any of them, made any decree for this change, when they were living; or left order for it in any Will or Testament, when they were dying. This were to grant the question; To wit, that the Apostles, being to leave the Government of the Churches themselves, and either seeing by experience, or fore-seeing by the Spirit of God, the distractions and disorders, which would arise from a multitude of equals, substituted Episcopal Government instead of their own. General Councils to make a Law for a generall change, for many ages there was none. There was no Christian Emperour, no coercive power over the Church to enforce it. Or if there had been any, we know no force was equal to the courage of the Christians of those times. Their lives were then at command (for they had not *then* learnt to fight for Christ) but their obedience to any thing *against* his Law was not to be commanded (for they had perfectly learnt to dye for him.) Therefore there was no power then to command this change; or if there had been any, it had been in vain.

SECT. 9. What device then shall we study, or to what fountain shall we reduce this strange pretended alteration? Can it enter into our hearts to think, that all the Presbyters and other Christians then, being the Apostles Schollers,
could

could be generally ignorant of the Will of Christ, touching the necessity of a Presbyterial Government? Or, dare we adventure to think them so strangely wicked all the World over, as against knowledge and conscience to conspire against it? Imagine the spirit of *Diotrephes* had entered into some, or a great many of the Presbyters, and possessed them with an ambitious desire of a forbidden superiority, was it possible they should attempt and achieve it once without any opposition or contradiction? and besides that, the contagion of this ambition, should spread it self and prevail without stop or controul, nay, without any noyse or notice taken of it, through all the Churches in the World; all the watchmen in the mean time being so fast asleep, and all the dogs so dumb, that not so much as one should open his mouth against it?

SECT. 10. But let us suppose (though it be a horrible untruth) that the Presbyters and people *then*, were not so good *Christians* as the Presbyterians are *now*; that they were generally so negligent to retain the government of Christ's Church commanded by Christ, which we now are so zealous to restore: yet certainly we must not forget nor deny that they were *men* as we are. And if we look upon them but as meer naturall men, yet knowing by experience how hard a thing it is, even for policy arm'd with power by many attempts and contrivances, and in a long time, to gain upon the liberty of any *one* people; undoubtedly we shall never entertain so wild an imagination, as that among all the Christian Presbyteries in the World, neither conscience of duty, nor love of liberty, nor averseness from pride and usurpation of others over them, should prevail so much with any one, as to oppose this pretended universal invasion of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the liberty of Christians.

SECT. 11. When I shall see therefore all the Fables in the *Metamorphosis* acted and prove stories; when I shall see all the Democracies and Aristocracies in the World lye down and sleep, and awake into Monarchies: then will I begin

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gin to believe that Presbyterial Government, having continued in the Church during the Apostles times, should presently after (against the Apostles doctrine and the will of Christ) be whirl'd about like a scene in a masque, and transformed into Episcopacy. In the mean time, while these things remain thus incredible, and in humane reason impossible; I hope I shall have leave to conclude thus:

Episcopal Government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church, presently after the Apostles times.

Between the Apostles times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration.

And therefore there was no such alteration as is pretended. And therefore Episcopacy, being confessed to be so Ancient and Catholique, must be granted also to be Apostolique, *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

FINIS.



The Preface to the R E A D E R.

THe eminent abilities in the most noble Author of the ensuing learned Discourse, and learned Reply, can scarcely be imagined unknown to any whom this language can reach : But if any such there be, I shall desire them to learne the perfections of that most excellent Person, rather from the Dedication, then this Preface; the designe of which, is onely to give the Reader some satisfaction concerning the nature of this Controversie in it selfe, and of these Dissertations in particular.

The Romish Doctrine of their owne Infallibility, as it is the most generall Controversie betweene them, and all other Churches excluded by them from their Communion : So it is of such a comprehensive nature, that being once proved and
A clearly

The Preface to the Reader.

clearly demonstrated, it would without question draw all other Churches so excluded, to a most humble submission and acknowledgement, nay, to an earnest desire of a suddaine Reconciliation upon any Terms whatsoever. For howsoever they please to speak and write of our Hereticall and obstinate persistance in manifest Errors, yet I hope they cannot seriously thinke we would be so irrationall, as to contradict him whom we our selves think beyond a possibility of erring, and to dispute perpetually with them, whom onely to heare were to be satisfied.

But when they have propounded their Decisions to be beleaved, and imbraced by us as Infallibly true, and that because they propound them, who in their own opinion are Infallible; if notwithstanding some of those Decisions seeme to us to be evidently false, because clearly contradictory to that which they themselves propound as infallibly true, that is the Word of God: surely we cannot be blamed, if we have desired their Infallibility to be most clearly demonstrated, at least to a higher degree of evidence then we have of the contradiction of their Decisions to the infallible Rule. Wherefore, The great Defenders of the Doctrine of the Church of England, have with more then ordinary

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nary diligence endeavoured to view the grounds of this Controversie, and have written by the advantage either of their learning accurately, or of their parts most strongly, or of the cause it selfe most convincingly, against that darling Infallibility. How clearly this Controversie hath been managed, with what evidence of truth discussed, what successe so much of reason hath had, cannot more plainly appeare then in this, that the very name of Infallibility before so much exalted, begins now to be very burthensome, even to the maintainers of it : Inso-much as one of their latest and ablest Profelytes, Hugh Paulin de Cressly, lately Dean of Loughlin, &c. in Ireland, and Prebendary of Windsor in England, in his Exomologesis, or faithfull Narration of the occasion and motives of his Conversion, hath dealt very clearly with the World, and told us, that this Infallibilitie is an unfortunate Word. That Mr. Chillingworth hath cumbated against it with too too great successe, so great, that he could wish the Word were forgotten, or at least layd by. That not onely Mr. Chillingworth, whom he still worthily admires; but we the rest of the poore Protestants have in very deed, very much

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to say for our selves, when we are pressed unnecessarily with it. *And therefore Mr. Cressy's advise to all the Romanists is this, that we may never be invited to combat the authority of the Church under that notion. Oh the strength of Reason rightly managed ! O the power of Truth clearly declared ! that it should force an emnient member of the Church of Rome (whose great Principle is non-retractation) to retract so necessary, so fundamentall a Doctrime, to desert all their Schooles, and contradict all their Controversists. But indeed not without very good cause : For he professes withall, that no such word as Infallibility is to be found in any Council : Neither did ever the Church enlarge her Authority to so vaste a widenesse : But doth rather deliver the victory into our hands when we urge her Decisions. In all which Confessions, although he may seeme onely to speak of the Word, yet that cannot be it which he is so wearie of, because we except not against the word at all, but confesse it rightly to signifie that which we impugne, neither do we ever bring any nominall Argument against it. But as when Cardinall Bellarmine sets downe*
the

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the Doctrine of the Church in their positive tearmes. Summus Pontifex, cum totam Ecclesiam docet, in his, quæ ad Fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest. We conceive he hath sufficiently expressed the sence of the word Infallibility, so that, Infallibilis est, & nullo casu errare potest, are to us the same thing. It cannot therefore be the Word alone, but the whole importance and sence of that word Infallibility, which Mr. Cressy so earnestly desires all his Catholicks ever hereafter to forsake, because the former Church did never acknowledge it, and the present Church will never be able to maintaine it. This is the great succeffe which the Reason, Parts, and Learning of the late Defendors of our Church have had in this maine Architectonicall Controversie.

And yet though the Church never maintained it, though the Protestants have had such advantage against it, though Mr. Cressy confessing both, hath wished all Catholicks to forsake it, yet will he not wholly forsake it himself, but undertakes most irrationally to answer for it. If the Church never asserted it, if the Catholicks be not at all concerned in it, to what end will Mr. Cressy the great mitigator of the rigor, and defendor of the latitude

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latitude of the Churches Decisions, maintaine it? If Mr. Chillingworth have had such good successe against it, why will his old Friend Mr. Cressly endeavour to answer his arguments? especially, considering when he hath answered them all, he can onely from thence conclude that, Mr. Chillingworth was a very bad Disputant, who could bring no argument able to confute that, which in it selfe is not to be maintained.

So unreasonable it is and inconsistent with his Concessions, that he should give an answer at all, but the manner of his answer, which he gives, is farr more irrationall. For deserting the Infallibility, he answers onely the authority of the Church, and so makes this authority answer for that Infallibility: from whence these three manifest absurdities must necessarily follow.

First, When he hath answered all M. Chillingworth's arguments, in the same manner as he pretends to answer them, he must still acknowledge them unanswerable, as they were intended by him that made them. And no argument need to be thought good for any thing else, if he which made it knew what he said, as Mr. Chillingworth certainly did.

Secondly,

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Secondly, He only pretends to answer those arguments, as against the authority of the Church, simply considered without relation to such an Infallibility, which were never made against an authority so qualified. And therefore whether the argument of his deare friend were to any purpose or no, his answer manifestly must be to none.

Thirdly, If hee intend to refute all opposition made to their Infallibility by an assertion of their bare authority, then must he assert that authority to be as great and convincing, which is fallible, as that which is infallible: that Guide to be as good, which may lead me out of my way, as that which cannot. That Judge to be as fit to determine any doubt, who is capable of a mistake, as he which is not. And then I make no question, but some of his own Church amongst the rest of their dislikes, will put him in mind of that handsome sentence of Cardinall Belarmine, *Iniquissimum esset cogere Christianos, ut non appellent ab eo Judicio, quod erroneum esse potuit.*

I once thought to have replied to those answers, which he hath given to Mr. Chillingworth's arguments: but his antecedent Concession hath made them so inconsiderable to me, that upon a second

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second thought, I feare I should be as guilty in replying after my Objections, as he hath been in answering after his Confessions. Wherefore I shall conclude with an asseveration of mine own, which shall be therefore short because mine : That the Reply of this most excellent Person, Sola operarum summa præsertim in Græcis incuria excepta, is the most accurate Refutation of all, which can be said in this Controversie, that ever yet appeared, and if what hath already been delivered have had such successe upon so eminent an adversary, then may we very rationally expect at least the same effect upon all, who shall be so happy as to read these Discourses.

Which is the earnest desire of

I. P.

THE



To the Right Honourable, Henry
Lord Viscount of Falkland,
my Honourable Lord.

My Lord,



Not long before the death of that incomparable person, your Lordships Mother, that great example of piety and humility, the Lady Viscountesse of Falkland, she was pleased to commit to my hand that, which she beleeved, next her Children, the dearest pledge of her dead Lord; some excellent Monuments of his Reason, Wit, and Industry; in the search of that, which he would have as gladly found, as he hath rationally

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rationally rejected, an *Infalible Iudge* here on Earth in all our *Controversies* in point of Religion, of which the labouring world seemeth at present to stand in so much need. I have considered often of that singular trust and friendship, in making me the depositarie of so rich a Jewell: And since she, from whose hands I received it, is gone thither, where she stands in no need of these discourses, I know no person living that hath more right to it then your Lordship, or indeed to whom I would more willingly offer it. For though your Lordship be now out of my immediate charge and Tuition, yet as long as it shall please God to make me able to do, or point at any thing that may, though never so little, helpe forward to perfect a good work in you, I shall never account my selfe disoblighd. I must professe to all the World, that there is no Family now in being, to which I owe more true service, then to your Lordships: And shall to the utmost of my power, upon
all

Henry, Lord Piscourt of Falkland.

all occasions make it good. I have nothing left me but a poor thankfull heart, which hath been my onely sure Companion, when all things else have forsaken me: That still remains *adversus* *me* and *contra* *me*, being neither in the power of time nor persons to spoile me of that, which like a good Conscience to my self, must to my friends be the best feast I can make them.

My Lord, my design is not by this to ingage your Lordship in this Polemicall discourse, nor my self neither, having neither ability nor leisure for a business of that concern, and by reason of my busie imployment, I had not been able to have presented it thus to your Lordship, without the assistance of Judicious Friends, that honour the work for the Authors sake, and the Author for his owne.

But, My Lord, I hope I shall have my end in it however, an end which no good man will envy me, namely, an occasion hereby to reminde your Lordship of the Gallant Author, your Noble Father, that
by

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by proposing Him to you as your constant Coppy, you may do Him an honour beyond all his Friends: For while they *praise*, you may *imitate* him.

Indeed, it is one of the greatest comforts I have in this calamitous life, to remember, that I had the honour to be so neare Him: And a reproach, which I cannot clear my self of, to have been at the same time so neare, and so farr off; so neare in Conversation, and yet so farr removed from him in those Excellencies, whereby he was the envy of this Age, and will be the wonder of the next.

His Religion, (for that I should begin with) was the more Eminent, because the more Early, at that age, when yong Gallants think least on it: When they, yong Candidates of Atheisme begin to dispute themselves out of a beleefe of a Deity, urging hard against that, which indeed is best for them that it should never be, a *Judgement to come*; then, I say, that salvation which these mention with a scoff or a Jeere, he began to work out with fear

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fear and trembling, and effectually to remember, that is, to honour and serve his Creator in the daies of his youth.

In the next place, I may not forget his vast naturall parts: *Dixit ex tempore* saith *Pliny* of *Isæus*, *sed tanquam diu scripserit*, and I may truly apply it to him, his Answers were quick and suddain, but such, as might very well seem to have been meditated. In short, his abilities were such, as though he needed no supplies of industry, yet his industry such as though he had had no parts at all. How often have I heard him pittie those Hawking and Hunting Gentlemen, who if unseasonable weather for their sports had betrayed them to keep home, without a worse exercise within doores, could not have told how to have spent their time: And all because they were such strangers to such good *Companions*, with whom he was so familiar, such as neither cloy nor weary any, with whom they converse, such company as *Erasmus*, a person much esteemed by my Lord your Father, so much extolls in his 31, and 35, Epistle of his fourth Book

Book : Not friends of the Cellar, or the Kitchen; ~~as the Poet says in the Daphniod~~ indeed their ~~owne~~ friends rather than his who entertaineth them : But such, as being bidden, are ready, uninvited intrude not, that bite no mans meat or reputation, silent, not spoken to, spoken to, speak as we please, what we please, how long and how much we please : Candidly communicating themselves to us without betraying our secrets committed to them, that still tell us somewhat that may delight us for its Antiquitie, please us for its Novelty, or some way or other enrich our knowledge. While others studied the Heraldry of Horses, of Doggs, or at the best their owne. He, though not inferior to his Neighbours in Descent, and Honour, knowing well how much more glorious it is to be the first then the last of a Noble Family, (Blood without Vertue making Vice but more conspicuous) was so farr from relying upon that empty Title, that He seemed *ipse subs genuisse Parentes*, to have begotten his Ancestors, and to have given them

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them a more Illustrious life; then he received from them.

Though there were as much true worth closely treasured up in him, as well divided, had been able to have set up a hundred Pretenders, yet so much Modesty withall, that the hearing of any thing was more pleasing to him then one tittle of his owne praise.

This Vertue was indeed in a high degree in him, and shewed it selfe upon all occasions. If any thing, though never so little unhandsomely, had been spoken or done where he was, he was the greatest sufferer in the company, and much more out of countenance then he that made the offence. And surely he that was so tender of another mans Civility, may very justly be presumed to have had a great regard to his owne. And so he had indeed. For though his Courage were as great as his Wit and his Learning, (and that is expression high enough) his Valour so undaunted and dreadlesse, as his great fall

(*) (*)

fall witness, *ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀδελφείᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ*,
In that fatall Haile that made more Or-
phans then his Children: Yet to do an
ill or an uncivill thing, he was an ar-
rant Coward: Though he was of Da-
vids Stature, of his Courage too,
καρὰ δὲ ἀδελφείᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ, and in this most
like him, afraid of nothing but to of-
fend.

But what needs any body plead for his
Civility more then this present Discourse,
where he excels his Antagonist in that,
as well as in reason, and shewes that a
Gentleman writ with a Scholars Pen.

Before I shut up all, my Lord, one
Vertue there is yet to be mentioned,
which of all that ever had relation to his
Lordship, I may not, I must not ever
forget, and that was his Friendship. That
is a Vertue, which by the unintermitted af-
fection of my life, I have had more
then ordinary occasion to make use of.
And that I must needs say was it, which
made all his other Graces and Excellen-
cies relish to me, He being the dearest
and

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and the truest Friend, that through the whole course of my unhappy life I ever had the happinesse to meet with.

If it be a kind of pleasure to reade discourses of Friends and Friendship, What is it to enjoy such a Friend in whom really was, what Excellencie either History can record, or almost Poëtry faine?

Nothing so hard in *Lucians Toxaris*, that he durst not do, and nothing so handsome in all *Seneca's* Lawes of Benefits, that he knew not how to do, and to out-do for his Friend.

Let your Vertuous and dear Grand-mother, my Lord, and all your Kindred yet alive, speak to this: And your blessed Mother were she now alive, would say, she had the best of Friends before the best of Husbands. This was it that made *Tew* so valued a Mansion to us: For as when we went from *Oxford* thither, we found our selves never out of the Univerfitie: So we thought our selves never absent from our own beloved home. But I dare say no more of this, it being

(***)

now

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now a mellancholy thing, I am sure to me, to call back into my memory happinesse never to be recalled, and to afflict my self anew with the consideration of what felicity I have out-lived.

Your Lordship is now the onely surviving pledge of that admired Father, of whom-when we his poor servants have said all we can, the Character will be farr too short. It is in you, and onely you, my Lord to set him out truely, and to resemble him to the life, and that will be by taking that Evangelicall Counsell, *Tu autem fac similiter*: Do like him, live like him, and pardon me if I add one thing more, like him, Love

My Lord,

Your Lordships most

humble and affectionately

devoted Servant,

TRIPLE T.



OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

OF
R O M E.

A discourse written by the Lord Viscount

R A L K L A N D.



O him that doubteth whether
the Church of *Rome* hath
any errors, they answer, that
she hath none, for she never
can have any; this being so
much harder to believe than
the first, had need be pro-
ved by some certainer Ar-
guments, if they expect that the beleeve of this one
(a) should

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should draw on whatsoever they please to propose, yet this, if offered to be proved by no better wayes, then we offer to prove by, that she hath erred; which are arguments from Scripture, and ancient Writers, all which they say are fallible, for nothing is not so but the Church: Which if it be the only infallible determination, and that can never be believed upon its owne authority, we can never infallibly know that the Church is infallible, for these other waies of prooffe may deceive both them and us, and so neither side is bound to believe them; If they say that an argument out of Scripture is sufficient ground of Divine Faith, why are they offended with the Protestants for believing every part of their Religion upon that ground, upon which they build all theirs at once. And if following the same Rule, with equall desire of finding the Truth by it, (having neither of those qualities which *Isid. Pelus*, saith are the cause of all Heresie, *aliquid in se, vel in se, Pride and Prejudication*) why should God be more offended with the one, then with the other, though they chance to erre.

They say, the Church is therefore made infallible by God, that all men may have some certain Guide; yet, though it be infallible, unlesse it both plainly appeare to be so, (for it is not certaine to whom it doth not appeare certaine) and unlesse it be manifest which is the Church, God hath not attained his end; and it were to set a ladder to Heaven, and seem to have a great care of my going up, whereas unlesse there be care taken that I may know

of the Church of Rome.

know this ladder is here to that purpose, it were as good for me it never had been set.

If they say we may know, for that generall Tradition instructs us in it.

I answer, that ignorant people cannot know this, and so it can be no Rule for them; and if learned people mistake in this, there can be no condemnation for them.

For suppose, to know whether the Church of Rome may erre, (as a way which will conclude against her, but not for her) I seek whether she have erred; and conceiving she hath contradicted her self, conclude necessarily she hath erred, I suppose it not damnable, (though false) because I try the Church by one of the touch-stones which herself appoints me (Conformity with the Ancients.) For to say, I am to beleeve the present Church, that it differs not from the former, though it seem to me to do so, is to send me to a witnesse, and bid me not beleeve it; now to say the Church is provided for a guide of Faith, but must be known by such markes as the ignorant cannot seek it by, and the learned may chance not find it by, can no way satisfie me.

If they say God will reveale the Truth to whomsoever seeks it these waies sincerely, this saying both sides will (without meanes of being confuted) make use of, therefore it would be as good that neither did.

When they have proved the Church to be Infallible, yet to my understanding they have proceeded nothing farther, unlesse we can be sure

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which is it. For it signifies onely that God will have a Church alwaies which shall not erre, but not that such, or such a succession shall be in the right, so that if they say, the *Greek Church* is not the Church, because by its own confession it is not Infallible: I answer, That it may be now the Church, and may hereafter erre, (and so not be now infallible) and yet the Church never erre, because before their fall from Truth, others may arise to maintaine it, who then will be the Church, and so the Church may still be infallible, though not in respect of any set persons, whom we may know at all times for our Guide.

Then if they prove the Church of *Rome* to be the true Church, and not the *Greek Church*, because their opinions are consonant either to Scripture or Antiquitie, they run into a Circle, proving their Tenets to be true: First, because the Church holds them: And then theirs to be the Church, because the Church holds the Truth: Which last, though it appears to me the onely way, yet it takes away its being a Guide, which we may follow without examination, without which all they say besides, is nothing.

Nay, suppose that they had evinced, that some succession were Infallible; and so had proved to a learned man, that the *Roman Church* must be this, because none else pretends to it, yet this can be no sufficient ground to the ignorant, who cannot have any infallible foundation for their beleefe, that the Church of *Greece* pretends not to the same; and even to the Learned it is but an accidentall Argument,

of the Church of Rome.

gument, because if any other Company had likewise claimed to be Infallible, it had overthrown all.

The chiefest reason why they disallow of Scripture for Judge, is, because when differences arise about the interpretation, there is no way to end them: And that it will not stand with the goodness of God, to damne men for not following his Will, if he had assigned no infallible way to find it.

I confesse this to be wonderfull true, (ὁ δὲ ἕως πύλας ἔγωγε ὡς ἔπερσεν λέγειν παρ' ὁμογενῶν) and let them excuse themselves that think otherwise; yet this will be no Argument against him that beleeves, that to them who follow their reason in the interpretation of the Scriptures, God will either give his Grace for assistance to find the Truth, or his pardon if they misse it: And then this supposed necessitie of an infallible Guide, (with the supposed damnation for want of it) fall together to the ground.

If they command us to beleeve infallibly the contrary to this, they are to prove it false by some infallible way (for the conclusion must be of the same nature, and not conclude more then the premisses set down.) Now such a way Scripture, and Reason, and infused Faith cannot be, (for they use to object the fallibility of these, to those that build their Religion upon them) nor the authority of the Church, (for this is part of the Question, and must it self be first proved, and that by none of the former waies, for the former reasons.)

The

Of the Infallibility

The Popes Infallibility can be no infallible ground of Faith, being it self no necessary part of Faith, and we can be no surer of any thing proved, then we are of that which proves it :) and if he be fallible, no part is the more infallible for his siding with them ; So if the Church be divided, I have no way to know the true Church, but by searching which agrees with Scripture and Antiquitie, and so judging accordingly : (but this is not to submit my self to her opinions, as my Guide, which they tell us is necessarie) which course, if they approve not of as fit for a learned man, they are in a worse case for the ignorant, who can take no course at all, nor is he the better at all for his Guide the Church, whilst two parts dispute which is it, and that by arguments he understands not.

If I grant the Pope, or a Councell by him called, to be infallible, yet I conceive their decrees can be no sufficient grounds, (by their own axioms) of divine Faith.

For first of all, no Councell is valid, not approved by the Pope, (for thus they overthrow that held at *Ariminum*) and a Pope chosen by *Simony*, is (*ipso facto*) no Pope.

I can have then no certainer grounds for the infallibility of those decrees, and consequently for my beleefe of them, then I have, that the choice of him is neither directly, nor indirectly *Simoniacall*.

Secondly, suppose him Pope, and to have confirmed their decrees ; yet, that these are the decrees
of

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of a Councell, or that he hath confirmed them, I can have but an uncontradicted confession of many men; (for if another Councell should declare these to have been the Acts of another former Councell, I should need againe some certain way of knowing how this declaration is a Councell) which is no ground, say they, of Faith, I am sure not so good and generall a one, as we have that the Scripture is Scripture, which yet they will not allow any to be certaine of, but from them.

Thirdly, For the sence of their decrees, I can have no better expounder then reason; which if (though I mistake) I shall not be damned for following, why shall I for mistaking the sence of the Scripture? or why am I a lesse fit Interpreter of the one, then of the other? and when both seeme equally cleare, and yet contradictory, shall not I assoon beleeye Scripture which is without doubt of as great authority?

But I doubt whether Councells are fit deciders of Questions; for such they cannot be if they beget more, and men are in greater doubts afterwards (none of the former being diminished) then they were at first.

Now I conceive there arise so many out of this way, that the learned cannot end all, nor the ignorant know all. As (besides the fore-named considerations) who is to call them? the Pope or Kings? who are to have voices in them, Bishops onely, or Priests also? whether the Pope, or Councell be superiour: and the last need the approbation

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probation of the first (debated amongst themselves?) Whether any Countries, not being called, or not being there, (as the *Abissines*, so great a part of Christianitie, and not resolvedly condemned by them for Hereticks, were absent at the Councell of *Trent*) make it not generall? Whether if it be one not every where received, (as when the Bishops sent from some places have exceeded their Commission, as in the Councell of *Florence*) it be yet of necessitie to be subscribed unto? Whether there were any surreption or force used, and whether those disannull the Acts? Whether the most voices are to be held the Act of the Councell, or those of all required (which never yet agreed?) Or whether two parts will serve, as in the *Tridentine* Synod? A considerable doubt, because *Nicephorus Callistus*, relating the resolution of a Councell at *Rome*, against that of *Ariminum*, makes him give three reasons.

One, That the Pope of *Rome* was not present.

The Second, That most did not agree to it.

The third, That others thither gathered, were displeased at their resolutions.

Which proves, that (in their opinions) if either most not present, agree not to it, or all present be not pleased with it, a Councell hath no power to bind.

All the^e doubts I say perswade me, that whatsoever brings with it so many new Questions, can be no fit end of the old.

Then

of the Church of Rome.

Then; if before a generall Councell have defined a Question, it be lawfull to hold either way, and damnable to do so after; I desire to know why it is so. Scripture and Tradition seem to me not to say so: but if they did so, I suppose you will grant they do this Doctrine, *That the Soules of the blessed shall see God before the day of Judgement*: (and not be kept in secret Receptacles) for without this, the Doctrine of Prayersto Saints, cannot stand; and yet, for denying this, *Bellarmino* excuseth Pope *John* the 22th because the Church (he meanes, I doubt not, a generall Councell) had not then condemned it.

I desire to know, why he should not be condemned as well without one, as many Hereticks, that are held so by their Church, yet condemned by none: (which if he make to be the Rule of Heresie, it had been happy to have lived before the Councell of *Nice*, when no opinion had been damnable, but some against the Apostles Councell at *Hiernsalem*, because there had yet been no other generall Councell;) at least, why should not I be excused by the same reason, though I beleve not a Councell to be infallible: since I never heard that any Councell hath decreed that they are so, neither if it hath, can we be bound by that decree, unlesse first made certaine some other way, that in selfe is so.

If you say, we must beleve it because of Tradition, I answer; Sometimes you will have the not beleiving any thing not declared by a Councell, to have power enough to damne (that is when

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against any of us :) at other times the Church hath not decreed unlesse a Councell have, and their error is pardonable, and they good Catholics.

Next, (as I have asked before) how shall an ignorant man know it? For he in likelihood can speak but with a few, from whom he cannot know, that all of the Church of *Romes* part do now, and in past ages have beleev'd it to be Tradition, so certaine as to make it a ground of Faith, (unlesse he have some revelation that those deceived him not) neither indeed can those that should inform him of the opinions of former times be certainly informed themselves: For truly, if the relation of *Pappias* could cozen so far all the prime Doctors of the Christian Church into a beleefe of the celebration of a thousand yeeres after the resurrection, so as that no one of those two first ages oppose it, (which appeares plainly enough, because those that after rise up against this, never quoated any thing for themselves before *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, who lived at least two hundred and fifty yeeres after Christ;) nay, if those first men did not onely beleev'e it as probable, but *Iustine Martir* faith, he holds it, and so do all that are in all parts Orthodox Christians, *ἐν τῇ αἰσθητικῇ καὶ λογικῇ ἀποδοχῇ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; *Irenaeus* sets it down directly for a Tradition, and relates the very words that Christ used, when he taught this, which is plainer then any other Tradition, is proved or said to be out of antiquity by them) if I say these could be so deceived, why might not other of the ancients

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ancients as well be deceived in other points, and then what certaintie shall the learned have (when after much labour, they think they can make it appeare, that the ancients thought any thing Tradition) that indeed it was so, and that either the folly or the knavery of some *Pappias* deceived them not? I confesse it makes me think of some that *Tully* speakes of, who *arcem amittunt, dum propugnacula defendunt*, loose the Fort, whilst they defend the out-works; For whilst they answer this way the Arguments of Tradition for the opinions of the *Chiliassts*, they make unusefull to themselves the force of Tradition, to prove any else by.

For which cause it was rather wisely then honestly done of them, who (before *Feuardentinus* set him forth) left out that part of *Irenaeus* which we alleadge, (though we need it not much; for many of the Fathers take notice of this beleef of his) yet he justifies himself for doing it, by saying, that if they leave out all errors in the books they publish, (that is, I suppose, all opinions contrary to the Church of Rome) *bona pars scriptorum, Patrum Orthodoxorum evanesceret*, a great part of the writings of the Orthodox Fathers must vanish away.

But the Tradition that can be found out of Ancients (since their witnessing may deceive us) hath much lesse strength, when they argue onely thus, sure, so many would not say this is true, if there were no Tradition for them,

I would have you remember, they can deliver
(b 2)
their

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their opinions possibly, but either before the controversy arise in the Church, (upon some chance) or after; If before, it is confessed that they writ not often cautiously enough, and so they answer all they seem to say for *Arrius*, and *Pelagius* his Faith, before themselves, and so consequently, their controversie (though it may be not their opinion) arose.

If after, Then they answer often, (if any thing be by them at that time spoken against them) that the heat of disputation brought it from them, and their resolution to oppose hereticks enough, I desire, it may be lawfull for us to answer so too, (either one of these former waies, or that it was (as often they say too) some Hyperbole) when they presse us with the opinions of Fathers.

At least I am sure, if they may deceive us with saying a thing is Tradition, when it is not, we may be sooner deceived if we will conclude it for a Tradition, when they speak it only as a Truth, and (for ought appears) their particular opinion.

Besides, If *Salvian* comparing the *Arrians* with evill liver, (and that after they were condemned by a Conncell) extenuates (by reason of their beleiving themselves in the right) with much instance, the fault of the *Arrians*, and saith, how they shall be punished in the day of Judgement, none can know but the Judge.

If I say, They confesse it to be his opinion, they must also confesse the Doctrine of the Church to differ from that of *Salvian* time, because he

was

of the Church of Rome.

was allowed a member of that, for all this saying; whereas he of the Church of *Rome*, that should now say so of us, would be counted *sesqui-havericus*, a Heretick and halfe; or else they must say (which they can onely say, and not prove) that he was so earnest against ill men; that for the aggravation of their crime, he lessened that of the Hereticks; and said, what at another time he would not have said; which if they do, will it not overthrow wholly the authority of the Fathers? Since we can never infallibly know, what they thought at all times, from what they were moved to say at some one time; by some Collatericall considerations.

Next, To this certaine and undoubted damning of all out of the Church of *Rome*, which averteth me from it, comes their putting all to death that are so, where they have power (which is an effect, though not a necessary one of the first opinion; and that averteth me yet more; for I do not beleieve all to be damned that they damne, but I conceive all to be killed that they kill; I am sure if you look upon *Constantines* Epistle, written to perswade concord upon their first disagreement between *Alexander*, and *Arius*, you will find, that he thought, (and if the Bishops about him had then thought otherwise, he would have been sure better informed) that neither side deserved either death, or damnation; (and yet sure you will say, this Question was as great as ever rose since) for having spoken of the opinions; as things so indifferent, that the Reader might almost think that

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that they had been fallen out at spurn-point, or kittle-pins, he adds, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι εἶναι καὶ τὸ δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον συμφορῆναι πάντας, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τερεῖν πίστιν, for that which is necessary is one thing, that all agree, and keep the same Faith, about divine Providence. I am sure, in the same Author, *Moses* (a man praised by him) refusing to be made Bishop by *Lucius*, because he was an *Arrian*, and he answering that he did ill to refuse it, because he knew not what his Faith was, answered, τὴν οὖν πίστιν δεῖν εἶναι ἢ καὶ ἐμὸν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς. The banishing of Bishops shew enough thy Faith. So that it is plaine, that he thought punishing for opinions to be a mark, which might serve to know false opinions by. And I beleeve throughout Antiquitie, you will find no putting any to death, unlesse it be such as begin to kill first, as the *Circumcellians*, or such like: I am sure Christian Religions chiefest glory being, that it encrease by being persecuted; and having that advantage of the *Mahumetan*, which came in by force, me thinks (especially since *Synesius* had told us, and Reason told men so before *Synesius*, that τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ οὐνιστάριον ἐκείνων φθισέται; Every thing is destroyed by the contrary to what settled and composed it;) It should be to take ill care of Christianity, to hold it up by Turkish meanes, at least it must breed doubts, that if the Religion had alwaies remained the same, it would not be now defended by waies so contrary to those, by which at first it was propagated.

I desire recrimination may not be used; for though it be true, that *Calvin* had done it, and the

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the Church of *England*, a little (which is a little too much) for *negare manifesta non audeo*, & *excusare immodica non possum*, yet she (confessing she may erre) is not so chargeable with any fault, as those which pretend they cannot, and so will be sure never to mend it; and besides I will be bound to defend no more then I have undertaken, which is to give reason why the Church of *Rome* is infallible.

I confess this opinion of damning so many, and this custome of burning so many, this breeding up those, who knew nothing else in any point of Religion, yet to be in a readinesse to cry, *To the fire with him, to Hell with him*, (as *Polybius* saith in a certaine furious faction of an army of severall nations, and consequently of severall languages, *μόνον τὸ ῥῆμα, ὅτι τοὶ κοινῇ συνέβαινον, [τὸ βιάσθαι]*) They all joyned onely in understanding this word, [*throw at him.*] These I say, in my opinion were chiefly the causes which made so many, so suddenly leave the Church of *Rome*, that indeed to borrow the same Authors Phrase, *ἡ πλεονεξία πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκείνων μόνον ἐδίδου*: They needed no perswasion to do it, but onely newes that others had done it: For as this alone if beleevd, makes all the rest to be so too, so one thing alone disliked, (where infallibility is claimed) overthrowes all the rest.

If it were granted, that it agreeth not with the goodnesse of God, to let men want an infallible Guide, and therefore there must be one, and that the Church of *Rome* were it, yet if that teach any thing to my understanding contrary to Gods good-

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goodnesse, I am not to receive her Doctrine, for the same cause for which they would have me receive it, (it being as good an argument this guide teacheth things contrary to Gods goodnesse, therefore this is not appointed by God, as to say, it is agreeable to his goodnesse there should be one, therefore there is one) and sure it is lawfull to examine particular Doctrines, whether they agree with that Principle, which is their foundation; and for that (me thinks) to damn him, that neither with negligence, nor prejudication, searches what is Gods will, (though he misse of it) is as contrary, as the first can be supposed.

Next, I would know, whether he, that hath never heard of the Church of Rome, shall yet be damned for not beleeving her infallible?

I have so good an opinion of them, as to assure my self, they will answer he shall not.

I will then ask, whether he that hath searched what Religions there are, and finds hers to be one, and her infallibility to be a part of it, (if his reason will not assent to that) shall be damned for being inquisitive after Truth, (for he hath committed no other fault, greater then the other) and whether such an ignorance, (I mean after impartiall search) be not of all other the most invincible?

Nay, grant the Church to be infallible, yet me thinks, he that denies it, and imployes his reason to seek, if it be true, should be in as good case, as he that beleeveth it, and searcheth not at all the truth of the Proposition he receives; For I cannot see why

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why he should be saved, because by reason of his parents beleeve, or the Religion of the Country, or some such accident, the Truth was offered to his understanding, when, had the contrary been offered, he would have received that. And the other damned, that beleeves falshood upon as good ground, as the other doth truth, unlesse the Church be like a Conjurers Circle, that will keep a man from the Divell, though he came unto it by chance.

They grant no man is an Heretick, that beleeves not his Heresie obstinately, and if he be no Heretick, he may sure be saved; It is not then certain damnation for any man to deny the Infalibility of the Church of *Rome*, but for him onely that denies it obstinately; And then I am safe, for I am sure I do not; Neither can they say, I shall be damned for Schisme, though not for Heresie, for he is as well no Schismatick, though in Schisme, that is willing to joyne in Communion with the true Church, when it appears to be so to him, as he is no Heretick, though he holds Hereticall opinions, who holds them not obstinately, that is (as I suppose) with a desire to be informed if he be in the wrong.

Next, Why if it be not necessary alwaies to beleeve the Truth, so one beleeve in generall what the Church would have beleeved, (for so they excuse great men that have held contrary opinions to theirs now, before they were defined, or knew them to be so) why I say, shall not the same implicite assent serve to whatsoever God would

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have

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have assented unto? (though I mistake what that is:) when indeed to beleeve implicitly what God would have beleeved, is to beleeve implicitly likewise what the Church teacheth, if this Doctrine be within the number of those, which God commands to be beleeved.

I have the lesse doubt of this opinion, that I shall have no harme for not beleeving the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, because of my being so farr from leaning to the contrary, and so suffering my will to have power over my understanding, that if God would leave it to me, which Tenet should be true, I would rather chuse, that that should, then the contrary.

For they may well beleeve me, that I take no pleasure in tumbling hard and unpleasant Books, and making my self giddy with disputing obscure Questions. If I should beleeve, there should alwaies be, whom I might alwaies know, a Society of men, whose opinions must be certainly true, and who would labour to discusse and define all arising doubts, so that I might be excusably at ease, and have no part left for me but that of obedience, which must needs be a lesse difficult, and so a more agreeable way, then to endure endlesse Volumes of Commenters, the harsh Greek of Epiphanius, and the harder Latin of Irenaeus, and be pained by distinguishing between different senses, and various Lectiōs, and he would deserve not the lowest place in *Bedlem*, that would preferre these studies before so many,

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ny, so more pleasant; that would rather imploy his understanding then submit it, and if he could think God imposed upon him onely the resisting temptations, would by way of addition require from himself, the resolving of doubts; yet I say not, that all these Books are to be read by those that understand not the languages, (for them I conceive their seeking into the Scripture may suffice) but he who hath by Gods grace skill to look into them, cannot better use it then in the searching of his will, where they say it is to be found, that he may assent to them, if there he find reason for it, or if not, they may have no excuse for not excusing him.

For whereas they say it is pride makes us doubt of their Infallibilitie.

I answer, That their too much lazinesse and impatience of examining is the cause, that many of them do not doubt.

Next, what pride is it never to assent, before finding reason (since they, when they follow their Church as infallible, pretend reason for it, and will not say they would, if they thought they found none) and if they say, we do find reason, but will not confesse it; then pride hinders not our assent, but our declaration of it, which if it do in any one, he is without question condemned by himself, and it must be a very partiall Advocate, that would strive to acquit him.

One much prevailing argument, which they make, is this, That whosoever leaves them, fall into dissention between themselves, whereas

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they in the mean while are allwaies at Unity.

I answer,

First, In this whereof the Question is now, they all assent.

Secondly, When there is fire for them that disagree, they need not bragg of their Uniformity who consent.

Thirdly, they have many differences among them, as whether the Pope be Infallible? whether God predeterminate every action? whether Election and Reprobation depend upon fore-sight? Which seemes to me as great as any between their Adversaries, and in the latter, the Jesuites have ancients, and generaller Tradition on their side, then the Church of *Rome* hath in any other Question, and as much ground from Reason for the defence of Gods goodnesse, as they can think they have for the necessity of an infallible guide.

Yet these arguments must not make the *Dominicans* Hereticks, and must us: If they say the Church hath not resolved it, (which signifies onely that they are not agreed about it, which is that we object) I answer, It ought to have done so, if uniformity to the Ancient Church be required, in which all that ever I could heare of, before *Saint Augustine* (who is ever various I confesse in it) delivered the contrary to the *Dominicans* as not doubtfull; and to say it is lawfull for them to disagree, wheresoever they do not agree, is ridiculous, (for they cannot do both at once about the same point) and if they say they mean by the Churches not having concluded it, that a Councell

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cell hath not : I Answer,

First, That they condemne some without any Councell, and why not these ?

Next, I say the opinion of the diffused Church is of more force, then the conclusion of the representative (which hath its authority from the other) and therefore if all extant for the first four hundred yeares taught any thing, it is more Heresie to deny that, then any Cannon of a Councell; But may not howsoever any other Company of People (that would maintaine themselves to be infallible) say as much, that all other Sects differ from one another, and therefore should all agree with them, would not those (think they) ascribe all other mens dissensions, and learned mens falling into diverse heresies to their not allowing their Infallibility, to their not assenting to their Decrees, and not suffering them *ἡ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἐν μαθητῶν μίση. ὡς ἀποστόλος ἐχεν.* to sit as teachers of those things that come in Question; and to have all others in the place of Disciples obedient to them, which is that which *Nilus* a Greek Bishop professed, that (because the Greeks would not allow the Romans) was the chief cause of separation between them.

Next, They use much to object, how could errors come into the Church without opposition, and mention both of them, and the opposition to them in History.

I answer,

They might come not at once, but by degrees, as in the growth of a Child, or motion of a Clock,

we

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we see neither in the present, but know there was a present when we find it past.

Next, I say there are two sorts of errors; To hold a thing necessary that is unlawfull, and false; or that is but profitable, and probable. Of the second sort, that errors should come in, it appears not hard to me, (especially in those ages where want of Printing, made Books, and consequently Learning, not so common as now it is, where the few that did study, busied themselves in Schoole speculations onely, when the authority of a man of chief note, had a more generall influence then now it hath, and so as *Thucidides* saith the Plague did in his time, *ἡγίετο δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀσφαλες τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ*, the disease that first settled in the head **EASILY** passed through all the body, considering how apt men are to desire that all men should think as they do, and consequently to lay a necessity upon the receiving that opinion, if they conceive that a way to have it received. And then if it were beleaved generally, profitable (as confession) who would be apt to oppose their calling it necessary, for the same cause for which they called it so.

Besides, If this error were delivered by some Father in the hot opposition of some Heretick, it may be none would oppose it, least the adversaries might take advantage by their dissension, and he that disputed for the Orthodox side, might lose by it much of his authority.

The word *necessary* itself, is also often used for very convenient, and then from necessary in that sense

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sence, to absolutely necessary is no difficult change, though it be a great one.

Then the Fathers use the word *Hereticks*, sometimes in a larger sence, and sometimes in a stricter, and so differ in the reckoning them up, some leaving out those that others put in, (though they had seen the precedent Catalogue) and so the doubtfullnesse of the sence of these words might bring in error: Names also, as *Altar*, *Sacrifice*, *Mass*, may have been used.

First, in one sence, and the name retained though the thing signified received change, as it was once of an Emperour of Rome, *cui proprium fuit nuper reperta*, (I leave out *scelera*) *præcis verbis obregere*, whose property it was to cover things newly found with ancient termes. And the same Author tells us, that the same state, was as it were, cheated out of her liberty, because there did remaine *eadem Magistratum vocabula*, the same titles of Magistrates: And I beleeve, that if the Protestants beyond the Seas would have thought Bishops as good a word as *Super-intendents*, (and so in other such things) many, who understand nothing but names, would have missed the scandale they have now taken. These waies I think these things may have come, without much opposition from being thought profitable to be done, and probable to be beleeved, to be thought necessary to be both, and how things may have been by little and little received under old names, which would not have been so at once under new ones, it is not hard to conceive.

Tacitus.

The

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The first of these being no such small fault, but that part of the Montanists Heresies was, thinking uncommanded fasting daies necessary to be observed, which without doubt might lawfully have been kept, so that no necessitie had been imposed.

But my maine answer is, that if to be in the Church without known precedent opposition, be a certaine note of being derived from the beginning, let them answer how came in the opinion of the *Chiliasm*, not contradicted till two hundred yeares after it came in.

To conclude, If they can prove that the Scripture may be a certainer teacher of truth to them, then to us, so that they may conclude the Infallibility of the Church out of it, and we nothing; If they can prove the Churches Infallibility to be a sufficient Guide for him, that doubts which is the Church, and cannot examine that (for want of learning) by her chiefe marke, which is conformity with the Ancients: If they can prove, that the consent of Fathers long together, is a stronger Argument against us, then against the *Dominicans*; If they can prove (though it be affirmed by the first of them, that such a thing is Tradition, and beleaved by all Christians, and this assertion till a great while after, uncontradicted) yet they are not bound to receive it, and upon lesse grounds we are; If indeed any can prove by any infallible way, the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, and the necessity under paine of damnation for all men to beleave it, (which were the more strange, because

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because *Justin Martyr*, and *Clements Alexandrinus* among the Ancients, and *Erasmus*, and *Ludovicus Vives* among the Modernes, beleevē some *Pagans* to be saved) I will subscribe to it, and

Ὅστις ἔσται τῆδε τῇ πόλει δαυδ,

καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως ἐξ ἡμῶν πηρύσσεται.

If any man vouchsafe to think, either this, or the Authour of it, of value enough to confute the one, and informe the other, I shall desire him to do it with proceeding to the businesse, and not standing upon any small slip of mine, (of which this may be full) and with that temper, which is fit to be used by men that are not so passionate, as to have the definition of reasonable Creatures in vaine, remembring that Truth in likelihood is, where her Author God was, in the *still voice*, and not the *loud wind*; and that *Epiphanius* excuseth himself, if he have called any Hereticks in his anger, Deceivers, or Wretches, (εἰ περιεργάζομαι τὶ λόγῳ ἀπατηῶνας καλῶν ἢ ἀθλίους.) and I request him also; to help to bring me to the Truth, (if I be out of it) not onely by his arguments, but also by his Prayers; which way if he use, and I still continue on the part I am of, and yet doe neither ἔκων περλωτῆν, nor ὁρῶν ἀναρχυντῆν, neither am willfully blind, nor deny impudently, what I see, then I am confident, that he will neither have reason to be offended with me in this world, nor God (for that) to punish me in the next.

If any man, on this subject, is so common
 of the opinion of it, of which I am so common
 the one, and inform the other I shall desire him to
 do it in private, I go to the public, and not from
 being upon any matter of opinion, or of
 this may be said, and which I am
 is to be said by men that are so public, and
 as to have the distinction of reasonable Christian
 in which I am sure that I am in the right
 and which I am sure that I am in the right
 of, and not the other, and which I am
 very much inclined, if he have called any of
 vessels in his anger, Discoverers, or Writers
 (I am inclined to say, as I have seen a
 and I am inclined to say, as I have seen a
 I think, to be one of our not only, by his argument
 but also by his papers; which way it be me, and
 I still continue of the part I am of, and yet do
 neither, and yet, nor yet, and yet, and yet
 am really blind, nor really blind, and yet
 I see, then, I am confident, that he will not
 give reason to be offended with me in this world,
 nor God for that, to think me in the wrong.

Creator, the mid (whereof) how much greater the



AN
ANSVVER
TO THE
Lord FULKLANDS
DISCOURSE OF
INFALLIBILITY.

And for the teaching and pre-

aching of it, showed not the honour of the

CHAP. I.

Nature being not able to perfect the
work of humane kind, which shee had
begun, and bursting at those throwes
and springings, which her timely child
gave, to see the light of eternall life, (whereof the
distaste of all things experienced in this world,
and certain sparklings sowed in our soule, had gi-
ven us a dim notice) expected from her mercifull

Creator,

Creator, the aid (whereof how much greater the wonder was to bee, and the necessary now divers thousand years by lamentable experience was more deer, so much the readier was he) and it was to send from his eternall brest, his only wisdom to recount us wonders, and avēre them under the seal of his immutable truth. He knew all secrets, and could not be touched with suspicion of ignorance; he was all goodness, and free from all calumnie of jealousie or envie: who knew him, could not mistrust him, for beside those great Verdicts already expressed in his favour, his works gave assurance of his words, he fulfilling in deeds, whatsoever he perswaded in words, and working to himself, what he wished unto others. Lo here, the high, and sage Master of our faith, whose Oracles we cannot mis-doubt, so we be assured they are his; and who hath in vain spent so much sweat, and pains, if after he should from hence, he hath left no means to assure mankind, what it was he taught and practised, and for the teaching and practising of it, eschewed not the stormie passage betwixt *Bethlehem* and *Mount Calvarie*: but as in *Bethlehem* he multiplied the three drops of his Circumcision into the thousands of innocent Brooks; so upon the *Mount Calvarie* he opened the great Source, which hath now through 18. Ages irrigated the world with an infinite of streames of proportionall examples of blood and sufferance. Now was his Legacie performed, and hee from *Mount Olive* triumphantly returned, from whence he was come, and the world left to be saved by faith,

faith, that is, by a constant persuasion of those things which he had taught.

The Conditions of this Faith were three. First, That it should be a means fitting for humane kind, that is, for learned and unlearned, for young and old, for wise and fooles, for Princes and peasants, Rabbies, and Ideots. Secondly, That it should be a tenent, constant, undoubted, undisputable, uncontroulable. Thirdly, That it should be a rule of our life and actions, making but a passage of this present life, to the following, and teaching us to contemn the present and seen substance, in hope of an unseen and absent fortune. Certes, a hard taske, and which needeth to be well grounded and founded by God himself. For who well considereth it, cannot doubt it, to be as great a miracle (to make the whole Masse of mankind, to forsake what it seeth, and take to obscure hopes or things, it does not so much apprehend what they are) as to force the strongest works of nature, to hang the sea in the aire, to alter the course of Moon, and Starres, and whatsoever else is strange and incredible in nature. Besides that, to make a way of knowledge common, and indifferent to learned, and unlearned, to make the ignorant understand, what the learned cannot reach unto, and the learned die in defence of the truth he hath no other warrant for, then because he hath learned it from an ignorant person, was the work of him alone who framed them both, and understood in what veins so different blouds doe run.

But done it was to be, and how? Those to whom

during his life, he had most fully declared his mind, went, and told it to others, and all was done. We cannot denie the way to have been fitting, and expedient, so it be found efficacious and powerfull to effect, what the Author intended. For if Faith must beleeve what Christ hath taught, what better instrument to breed faith, then who heard him speak? If Faith must be common to learned, and unlearned, what better meanes, then by hearing? From which no unlearnednesse can excuse, nor learnednesse be exempt. Every man may have from whom to hear and learn, if not a wiser then himselfe, yet one who may have properties to be a better witnesse. Children naturally beleeve what their parents tell them, unlearned men what Doctors teach them, absent men, what those who were present doe report. All this goeth very well, so that this Expedient prove efficacious to the end intended.

Object.

But it hath the prejudice of humane fallibilitie, for who, for weaknesse that he doth not carry away what he hath heard, who, for vanity to seem to know more then his fellowes, who, to make some lucre of it, or for some emulation to some other, but seldome it hapneth that a multitude can carry away a thing all in the same manner; and 1600. yeers are passed since, so that it is not credible, a Doctrine so delivered can persever incorrupted untill this day.

Answ.

Yet if we look into the immediate progresse and joints of the descent, we cannot finde where it can misse, for the doctrine being supernaturall, and not delivered by mans skill or wit, the first and main principle

principle of it can be no other, then to know what was delivered them by their Teachers, a thing not surpassing the understanding of any sensible wise man; so that put but twenty wise understanding men to agree, that the Preacher, to their certaine knowledge, said such a thing, there remaineth no probable nor possible doubt, but that it was so.

Now then suppose, that one of those (who having been taught by Christs own mouth, had received by the confirmation of the Holy Ghost, that he could neither forget nor forgoe this received doctrine) should have preached over and over again the same doctrine not long, nor hard to be carryed away in all the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs of some great Country, so that whilst he stayd there, they were thoroughly understanding and endoctrinated in that way. Now let him be gone, and after him all dead, who had heard him speake; and then some question arise concerning this doctrine (as we may say in the second age) let us see whether error can creep in or no, if the Christians keepe unto their hold. Their hold is what they were taught by Christs Apostles. Let therefore the wisest and best men of those Cities and Towns meet together about the controversie, and discusse it out of this principle (what was delivered unto them as taught by the Apostles) will not there be a quick end of their dispute? For every man can say, My father heard the Apostle speak, he understood him to have said this, so he himselfe beleaved, so he taught me, that this was that which the Apostle taught us. And when

out of divers Cities and Towns, shall come a multitude of witnesses, all agreeing in one point, how can it be doubted, but that this is Christs doctrine, and that which his Apostle taught? And to disagree how is it possible? Since all their fathers heard the same things, and things not above their capacity, and often told them, and well apprehended by them when they were taught, and by consequence could not tell their children otherwise then what they had heard and understood, in a matter of such moment, and of which they apprehended no lesse, then that it concerned their own, and their childrens salvation, happinesse, or misery for all eternity. And what here is most evidently certaine, in the children of those who heard the Apostles, may be derived with as much evidence again in the grand-children, and so in every age even to our present; for if in any age any question beginne, and it be reduced unto this principle; what did our forefather teach us? neither can there be any pretended ignorance (for who can be ignorant of what was taught him when he was a childe, and in what he was bred, as in the grounds and substance of his hopes, for all eternity?) True it is, that if men leave this principle, and seek to judge the controversie by learned discourse, then may the Church be divided, one part following the authority of their Ancestors; the other the subtle Arguments, and the great opinion they conceive, of the learning of their present Teachers: so that one side will claime succession, and to have received it from hand to hand; the other the glory of

of great learning, and to have come by great industry to discover the errors of their forefathers. But it is evident, that if what the Apostles preached be the touchstone of what is true, and what they preached to be seen in what those beleeve who have heard them; and they who received it from them that heard them; It is most evident, I say, that the one part, who seek for Christian truth in learned discourse, must needs forgoe the most certain and easie way, of attaining unto what they aime at: And likewise evident, that who keep themselves duly and carefully unto this principle cannot possibly in any continuance of time, swerve from the truth which Christ hath left unto his Church. So that the whole difficulty is reduced unto this, whether the Church for so many ages be perpetually preserved in this principle; that what she received from her forefathers is, that she must beleeve, and deliver unto her posterity; A thing so grafted in nature, which maketh us receive our being, our breeding, our learning, our goods, our estates, our arts, and all things we have, from our fathers, that it is a wonder of our mutability, that without forcible Engines we can be drawn from it.

CHAP.

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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

NOW let us turn our discourse, and as we have seen, that if our Saviour ordred his Apostles in the manner explicated, there was no way for his Church to swerve from his truth, but by swerving from the most plain, the most naturall, and most evident, and concluding rule of his doctrine, and that but one, and most easie; so let us see whether from the present Church we can draw the like forcible train, which may lead us up to Christ and his Apostles. Be therefore supposed or imagined, what no judicious man can deny to see with his eyes, if he hath never so little cast them upon this present religion of Christendome, to wit; that there is one Congregation or Church which layeth claime to Christ his doctrine, as upon this title, that she hath received it from his Apostles without interruption, delivered ever from Father to Sonne, from Master to Scholler, from time to time, from hand to hand, even unto this day; and that she does not admit any other doctrine for good and legitimate, which she does not receive in this manner. Again, that whosoever pretendeth Christ his truth against her, saith, that true it is, that once she had the true way, but that by length of time she is fallen into grosse errors which they will reforme, not by any truth they have received from hand to hand, from those who by both parts are acknowledged to have received their lesson from Christ

Christ and his Apostles, but by study and learned Arguments, either out of ancient Writers, or out of the secrets of nature and reason. This being supposed, either this principle hath remained unto her since the beginning, or she took it up in some one age of the 16 she hath endured; if she took it up in some latter age, she then thought she had nothing in her what she had not received from her fore fathers in this sort: And if she thought so, she knew it. For as it is impossible now any country should think it was generally taught, such a thing if it were not so; so also was there the like necessity, and impossibility to be otherwise, if all men were not runne mad. Therefore clear it is, she took it not up first then, but was in former possession, and so clear it is, that she could not have it now, if she had it not from the very beginning. Now if she had it, and hath conserved it from the beginning, no new opinion could take root in her, unlesse it came unto her under this Maxime, as received from hand, to hand; and to say, that any opinion which was not truly received from hand to hand, should by such a community be accepted, as received from hand to hand, is to make it beleieve, what it seeth clearly to be false, to lye unto it's own soule, against it's own soule, and the soule of it's posterity. Let us adde to this, that the multitude of this Church is so dispersed through so many Countries and languages of so divers governments, that it is totally impossible they should agree together, or meet upon a false determination, to affirme with one consent a falsity for truth, no interest being able to

be common unto them all to produce such an effect. Wherefore as an understanding man cannot chuse but laugh at the self-weening *Hampshire* Clown, who thinks in his heart there was no such Country as *France*, and that all that was told of it were but Travellers tales, because himselfe being upon the Sea shore, had seen nothing but water beyond *England*; so I think no wise man will accompt him lesse then phrentick, that understandeth so little in humane wayes, as to think whole Nations by designe, or by hazard, can agree together to professe, and protest a thing, which they know of their own knowledge to be a meer lye, and a well known falshood to themselves, and all their neighbours.

CHAP. III.

THe force of the declared linke of succession, is so manifest to a capable understanding, that being compared with any objection made against it, it will of it selfe maintain it's evidence, and bear down the greatest oppositors and opposition, if the understanding be left unto it selfe, and not wrested by the prejudice of a some wayes interessed will. Neverthelesse, there is a deeper root, which greatly strengthens and reduceth into action, the former efficacy of the tradition. And this is, that Christian doctrine is not a speculative knowledge, instituted for delight of man to entertain his understanding, and hath no further end then the delectation which ariseth out of contemplation; but

it is an art of living, a rule of attaining unto eternall blisse, a practicall doctrine whose end is to informe our action, that our life and actions squared by her directions, may lead us to that great good, the which God Almighty esteemed so highly of; that he thought it reason enough for him to shade his Divinity under the misery of man, to make us partakers of so great a blisse. Hence it followeth, that no error can fall, even in a point which seemeth wholly speculative in Christian faith, but soone it breedeth a practicall effect, or rather defection in Christian behaviour. What could seem more speculative, then whether the second, or third Persons of the Trinity weretruly or participately God? Yet no sooner was an error broached in these questions, but there followed a great alteration in Christian action; in their Baptismes, in their manner of Prayer, in the motives of Love and Charity toward Almighty God, the very ground-work and foundation of all Christian life. Whether man hath free-will or no, seemeth a question, belonging to the nature of man, fit for a curious Phylosopher; but upon the preaching of the negative part, presently followed an unknown Libertinage, men yeilding themselves over to all concupiscence, since they were perswaded they had no power to resist, free-will being denyed. I need not instance in prayer to Saints, worshipping Images, prayer for the dead, and the like; which is evident, could not be changed without an apparent change in Christian Churches. So that a doctrine contrary to faith, is like a disease,

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which

which although the cause be internall, yet cannot the effects and symptomes be kept from the outward parts and view of the world. The consequence which this note draweth, is, that it is not possible, that any materiall point of Christian faith can be changed, as it were by obreption, whilst men are on sleepe, but it must needs raise a great scandall and tumult in the Christian Common-weale. For suppose the Apostles had taught the world it were Idolatry to pray to Saints, or use reverence towards their Pictures: How can we imaginethis honour brought in, without a vehement conflict and tumult, in a people which did so greatly abhor Idolatry, as the Apostles, Disciples did? I might make the like instance in other points, if the whole History of the Church did not consist of the invasions made by Heretiques, and the great and most violent waving of the Church to and fro upon those occasions. We remember in a manner as yet, how change came into *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, and our own Country: Let those be a signe to us, what we may thinke can be the creeping in of false doctrine, specially, that there is no point of doctrine, contrary to the Catholique Church, rooted in any Christian Nation, that the Ecclesiasticall History does not mention the times and combats by which it entred, and tore the Church in peices.

Let it therefore remaine for most evidently constant, that into the Christian Church can come no error, but it must be seen and noted, and raise scandall and opposition to shew it selfe (as truly it is)

is) contrary to the nature of Piety and Religion. And when it does come, it cannot draw after it any others, then such as first desert the root of Faith, and Anchor of Salvation, that is to be judged by what their fore-fathers taught them, and affirmed to have received from their Ancestors, as the Faith which Christ and his Apostles delivered to the whole world of their time, and to such as ever claime and maintaine the right of succession, as rule of what they beleeve. Yet may this also be worthy of consideration, that as in our naturall body, the principall parts are defended by Bones, Flesh, Skinnes, and such like defences, in such sort, that no outward Agent can come to offend them, before having annoyed some of these; so in the Catholique faith, there are in speculation those we call Theologicall conclusions, and other pious opinions; and in practise many Rites and Ceremonies, which stop the passage unto the maine principall parts of Christian beleife and action. And about these we see daily such great motions in the Catholique Church, that he must be very ignorant of the Spirit of God, which quickeneth his Church, that can imagine any vitall part of his faith can be wounded while it lyes asleep, and is insensible of the harm befalling it; for as in any Science a principle cannot be mistaken, but it must needs draw a great shoale of false consequence upon it, and lame the whole Science, so never so little an error in faith can be admitted, but in other Tenets and Ceremonies it must needs make a great change, and innovation.

CHAP. I V.

NOW let any discreet man consider, what further
 Evidence he can desire, or peradventure, what
 greater assurance nature can afford; and not be
 of an awkward wilfulnesse to aske, that which is not
 conformable to the lawes of nature. Much like
 unto him, who being sate in a chaire far from the
 chimney, could not think of applying himselfe to
 the fire, but was angry the fire and chimney were
 made so far from him. The Phylosophers say,
 it is *indisciplinati ingenii* to expect in any Art or
 Science more exactnesse then the nature of it af-
 fordeth. As if a man would bind a Seaman, to
 goe so far every day, whether wind and weather
 served or no: So in morall matters, and such as
 are subject to humane action, we must expect such
 assurance as humane actions beare. If for the go-
 vernment of your spirituall life, you have as much
 as for the managing of your naturall and civill life,
 what can you expect more? Two or three wit-
 nesses of men, beyond exception, will cast a man
 out of, not onely his lands, but life and all. He
 that amongst Merchants will not adventure, when
 there is a hundred to one of gaining well, will be
 accompted a silly Factor. And amongst Soul-
 diers, he that will feare danger where but one of a
 hundred is slaine, shall not escape the stain of Cow-
 ardise. What then shall we expect in Religion,
 but to see a maine advantage on the one side, we
 may.

may cast our selves on ^d, and for the rest remember we are men, creatures subject to chance and mutability, and thank God he hath given us that assurance in a supernaturall way, which we are content withall, in our naturall and civill ventures and possessions, which neverthelesse God knoweth we often love better, and would lesse hazard then the unknowne good of the life to come. Yet peradventure, God hath provided better for his Church then for Nature, since he loved her more, and in his own Person did more for her. Let us therefore examine the assurance he hath left her particularly. It was found in the second Chapter, upon this principle, that so great a multitude of men as cleave to this ground (to have received their faith by tradition) could not conspire by lying, to deceive their posterity. And if I be not deceived, this principle being granted, the conclusion (that this present Church is the true) followeth in as severe a way of discourse, as in *Aristotles* Organ is taught, and exemplified in *Mathematicall* Writers; whose use and art it is to put the like suppositions, whence to enduce something out against their principle. As in the said Chapter you are bidden, to put what yeare, or age such an error enred, and it is evidently true, that if it be true, then that yeare or age conspired to tell a lye to deceive their posterity. And as for the strength of their principle it selfe (although no morall man can be so absurd as to doubt of it) yet may we consider, that the understanding being the part, which maketh man to be a man, and truth being the perfection

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of our understanding, and true speech the effect, naturall to true knowledge, or understanding: It is cleare, that to speak truth is as naturall a fruit of mans nature, as Peares of a Peare tree, Grapes of a Vine, Hony of the Bee: and that it can be no lesse grafted in nature, for men to speak truly, then it is in any other naturall cause to yeeld the fruit, for whose sake nature bred the cause. Wherefore as the constancy of the effect sheweth, that it holdeth upon eternall principles, that no one species of perfect creatures can perish, although we are not so skilfull of nature, as handsomely to weave the demonstration, so cannot it be doubted, but that if one had all the principles of mans nature well digested, he might demonstratively deduce the impossibility, of (that such multitudes of men should conspire to a lye) the variety of particulars, ever holding their being from a constancy and uniformity in the universall. Adde to this the notoriousnesse of the lye, such as he is rarely found, that is, so wicked as to venture upon, besides the greatnesse of the subject, and of the danger ensuing upon himselfe, and his dearest pledges. The ground therefore assumed, is a demonstrative principle, and peradventure in a higher degree then most physicall principles be: For who knoweth not the nature of the soule, to be the highest thing Physicks can reach unto? Who knoweth not, that immateriall things are lesse subject to mutability then those which are grounded in matter? Then as more noble, and as more immateriall, it hath greater exemption from mutability, then any

any other naturall cause whatsoever. One addition more, may chance to cleare the whole businesse more fully. Nothing more cleare then that, no naturall cause faileth of his effect, without there be some impediment from a stronger. Now the impediments which hinder a man from speaking truth, experience teacheth us, to be no other then hopes and feares. The same experience giveth us to know, that it is a rare thing, that hopes and feares should comprehend so great multitudes, as are in the union of the Catholique Church, specially during an age, which is the least time necessary for the effect we speak of; that what peradventure might at onetime be ill admitted, should not be rejected at another. But if there were, can any man be so mad as to think, it could be a secret hope or feare, which should not break out amongst the posterity, and be knowen, that what was done was not true, but counterfeited upon feare or interest; which if it were, a whole ages counterfeiting would not be sufficient to make the posterity beleeve, they had received such a point of doctrine by tradition. Wherefore I doe not see, how this principle of tradition, and the doctrine received by it, can be accompted of lesse certainty, then any Physicall demonstration whatsoever; or Faith upon this ground not as sure as any naturall cause, as the course of Sunne and Moon, as the flowing and ebbing of the Sea, as the Summer and Winter, Sowing and Harvett, and whatsoever we undoubtedly presume upon the like nature, and kind.

The principle which is taken in the following Chapter, is of no lesse force (if not of far better) to who rightly understandeth the nature of God his workes, whose course it is deeplier to root and strengthen those things which he would have most to flourish, or whereof he hath most care. Now Christians well know, that God Almighty hath made mankind for his elect, as the world which is about us for mankind. And therefore he hath rooted those things which more immediately belong to the Elect (as is his Church, his Faith, and Holy Spirit in it) more strongly then the principles either of mans nature, or of the world which was made for it: himselfe assuring us of it, when he told us, *One title should not misse of the holy Writ, though Heaven and Earth should be dissolved.* And so seeing the latter principle, relyed upon the not failing of Gods Holy Spirit to his Church, which should ever watch upon their actions, that nothing should creep into Christian life, which perferently the zeale of his faithfull should not startle at. I think it needlesse to seek to further *qualifie* the strength of that part, which receiveth it from the quality of so good a workman as was the Holy Ghost.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

I Doubt not but whosoever shall have received satisfaction in the discourse passed, will also have received in that point we seeke after, that is in being assured both that Christ hath left a Director in the world, and where to find him, there being left no doubt, but it is his holy Church upon earth. Nor can there be any question, which is this Church, sithence there is but one that doth and can lay claime, to have received from hand to hand his holy doctrine in writings and hearts. Others may cry loud, they have found it, but they must first confesse it was lost: and so if they have, it was not received by hands, I meane, as far as it disagreeeth with Catholique doctrine; so that where there is not so much as claime, there can be no dispute. And that this Church is a lawfull directresse, that is, hath the conditions requisite, I think can no wayes be doubted. Let us consider in her, presence, or visibility, authority, power. As for the first, her multitude and succession, makes the Church if she is ever accessible, ever known. The *Arrians* seemed to chase her out of the world in their flourish, but the persecution moved against her, made her even then well known and admired. In our owne Countrey we have seen no Bishop, no forme of Church for many yeares, yet never so, but that the course of justice did proclaime her through *England*, and who was

curious could never want meanes to come to know her confession of faith what it is, and upon what it is grounded. Wheresoever she is, if in peace, her Majesty and Ceremonies in all her actions, make her spectable and admired. If in war, she never wanteth Champions to maintain her, and the very heart of her adversaries, makes her known to such as are desirous to understand the truth of a matter so important, as is the eternall welfare of our soule.

For *Authority*: her very claime of antiquity and succession (to have been that Church which received her beginning from Christ and his Apostles, and never forewent it, but hath ever maintained it) giveth a great reverence unto her amongst those, who beleeve her, and amongst those, who with indifferency and love of truth, seek to inform themselves, a great prejudice above others: For it draweth a greater likelyhood of truth, then others have. And if it be true, it carrieth an infinite authority with it, of Bishops, Doctors, Martyrs, Saints, miracles, learning, wisdom, venerable antiquity, and the like: that if a prudent man should sit with himselfe and consider, that if he were to chuse what kind of one he would have it, to carry away the hearts of men towards the admiration and love of God Almighty, he could find nothing wanting in this, that could be maintained with the fluxibility of nature. For to say, he would have no wicked men in it, were to say, he would have it made of Angels and not of Men.

There remaineth *Power*: the which no man can

can doubt but Christ hath given it most ample, who considereth his words so often repeated to his Apostles. But (abstracting from that) who doth not see, that the Church hath the nature and proportion of ones Country, unto every one? As in a mans Country, he hath Father, and Mother, Brothers, Sisters, Kinsfolkes, Allyes, Neighbours, and Country-men, which anciently were called *Cives*, or *Concives*, and of these are made his Country; so in the Church findeth he in way of spirituall instruction and education, all these degrees neerer and farther off, untill he come unto that furthermost of being, of all united under the universall Government of Christ his Vicar: And as he in his Countrey findeth bearing, breeding, settling in estates and fortunes, and lastly protection and security; so likewise in the way of Christianity doth he find this more fully in the Church: so that if it be true, that a man oweth more unto his Master then unto his Father, because *bene esse* is better then *esse*: certainly a man also (as far as Church and Country can be separated) must owe more to the Church then to his very Country; wherefore likewise the power which the Church hath to command and instruct, is greater then the power of the temporall Country, and community, whereof he is part; Againe, this Church can satisfie learned and unlearned. For in matters above the reach of reason, whose source and spring is from what Christ and his Apostles taught, what learned man, that understands the nature of science and method, can refuse in his inmost soule to bow

to that which is testified by so great a multitude, to have come from Christ? And what unlearned man can require more for his faith, then to be taught by a Mistresse of so many prerogatives and advantages above all others? Or how can he think to be quieted in conscience, if he be not content to fare as she doth, who hath this prerogative, evident that none is so likely by thousands of degrees.

CHAP. VI.

THe stemme and body of our position thus raised, will of it selfe shoot out the branches of divers Questions, or rather the solution thereof.

And first, *How it hapned that diverse Heretiques have pretended tradition (the Millenarians, Carpocratians, Gnostiaks, and divers others) yet they with their traditions have been rejected, and the holy Church left onely in claime of tradition?*

For if we look into, what Catholique tradition is, and what the said Heretiques pretended, under the name of Tradition, the question will remain voided. For the Catholique Church calleth Tradition, that doctrine which was publicly preached in the Churches, ordred and planted in the manners and customes of the Church. The Heretiques called Tradition a kind of secret doctrine, either gathered out of private conversation with the Apostles, or rather they pretended that the Apostles, besides what they publicly taught the

the world, had another private or mysticall way proper to Schollers, more endeared then the rest, which came not to publike view, but was in huggermugger delivered from those secret Disciples unto others, and so unto them; where it is easily seen, what difference there is betwixt this Catholique Tradition and this pretended. For (the force and energie of tradition residing in the multitudes of hearers, and being planted in the perpetuall action, and life of Christians, so that it must have such a publicity that it cannot be unknown amongst them.) Those the Heretiques pretend both manifestly, want the life and being of traditions, and by the very great report of them lose all authority and name. For, suppose some private doctrine of an Apostle to some Disciple, should be published and recorded by that Disciple, and some others, this might well be a truth, but would never obtain the force of a Catholique position, that is, such as it should be damnation to reject, because the descent from the Apostle is not notorious, and fitting to sway the body of the whole Church.

The Second Question may be, *How it commeth to passe, that something which at first bindeth not the Churches beleef, afterward commeth to bind it? For if it were ever a Tradition it must ever be publike, and bind the Church: And if once it were not, it appeareth not how ever it could come to be; for if this age, (for example) hath it not, how can it deliver it over to the next age that followeth?*

But if we consider, that the hope of Christian doctrine

ctrine being great, and the Apostles preaching in so great varietie of Countries, it might happen some point in one Countrie to have been lesse understood, or peradventure not preached at all, which in another was often preached, and well both understood and retained, we may easily free our selves from these brambles. For the Spirit of Tradition residing in this, that the testimony of that, *the Apostles delivered this Doctrine be exceptione majus*, and beyond all danger of deceit; It is not necessary to the efficaciousness of Tradition, that the whole universall Church be witnesse to such a truth, but so great a part as could be a Warrant against mistaking and deceit; so that if all the Churches of *Asia*, or *Greece*, or *Aphrique*, or *Egypt*, should constantly affirm such a Doctrine to have been delivered unto them by the Apostles, it were enough to make a Doctrine *exceptione majorem*: Whence it insueth that if in a meeting of the Universall Church it were found that such a part had such a Tradition, concerning some matter, whereof the rest either had no knowledge or no certainty, such a Doctrine would passe into a necessary bond in the whole Church, which before was either unknown or doubted of in some part thereof. A likely example thereof might be in the *Canonicall* bookes, the which being written some to one Church, and some to another, by little and little were spread from those Churches unto others, and so some sooner, some later, received into the constant beleife of the *Catholique* world.

The Third question may be, *How (Christian religion, consisting in so many points) it is possible to be kept incorrupted by tradition, the which depending on memory, and our memory being so fragile, and subject to variation, it seemeth, cannot without manifest miracle, conserve so great diversity of points unchanged, for so many ages?*

But if we consider, that Faith is a Science, and Science a thing whose parts are so connexed, that if one be false, all must needs be false, we shall easily see that contrarily; the multitude of divers points is a conservation the one to the other. For, if one be certaine, it of it selfe is able to bring us to the right in another, whereof we doubt. And as in a mans body, if he wanteth one member, or the operation of it, he must needs find the want of it in another: And as a Common-wealth that is well ordained, cannot misse any office or part, without the redounding of the defect upon the whole, or some other part, so a Christian, being an essence instituted by God, as specially as any naturall creature, hath not the parts of his faith and action by accident and chance knitted together, but all parts by a naturall order, and will of the Maker, ordred for the conservation of the most inward essence, which is the charity we owe to God, and our Neighbour. Wherefore Christian life and action consisteth but upon one main tradition, whose parts be those particulars, which men specific, either in matter of Beliefe or Action: So that this connexion of its parts amongst themselves, added to the Spirit

of God, ever conserving zeale in the heart of his Church, with those helps also of nature (where-with we see wonders in this kind done) will shew this conservation to be so far from impossibility, that it will appeare a most con-naturall and fitting thing. Let us but consider, in constant nations, their language, their habits, their manners of sacrificing, eating, generally living; how long it doth continue amongst them. See that forlorne nation of *Jewes*, how constantly it maintaineth the Scripture? how obstinately their errors? The *Arabians* of the desert, from *Ismael* his time unto this day, live in families, wandring about the desert. Where Christians labour to convert Idolaters, they find the maine and onely argument for their errors, that they received them from their fore-fathers, and will not quit them. The King of *Socotora*, thinking to please the *Portugals* by reducing a nation, that had the name of Christians, to true Christianity, he found them obstinately protest unto him, that they would sooner lose their lives, then part with the religion their Ancestors had left them. The *Maronites*, a small handfull of people, amongst *Turks* and *Heretiques*, to this day have maintained their religion in *Siria*. And certainly thousands of examples of this kind may be collected in all Nations and Countries; especially, if they be either rude, and such as mingle not with others, or such as be wise, and out of wisdome seek to maintaine their ancient beleefe. And Catholiques are of both natures: For they have strict commands,

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not to come to the Ceremonies and Rites of other religions, and in their own, they have all meanes imaginable to affect them to it, and conserve a reverence and zeale towards it.

CHAP. VII.

TO come at length to the principall aime of this Treatise, that is, to give an answer to him that demandeth a guide at my hands. I remit him to the moderne present visible Church of *Rome*, that is, her, who is in an externe sensible communion with the externe sensible Clergy of *Rome*, and the externe sensible Head and Pastour of the Church. If he aske me now, how he shall know her? (I suppose he meaneth, how he should know her to be the true) I must contreinterrogate him, who he is? that is, in whose name he speaketh? Is he an ignorant man? Is he unlearned? yet of good understanding in the world? Is he a Scholler? and what Scholler? A Gramarian, whose understanding hath no other helpe then of languages? Is he a Phylosopher? Is he a Divine? (I meane an Academicall one, for a true Divine is to teach, not to aske this question:) Is he a Statesman? For he who can think one answer, can or ought be made to all these; may likewise expect, that a round bowle may stop a square hole, or one cause produce all effects, and hang lead at his heels to fly withall. Yet I deny not, but all these must have the same guide,

though they are to be assured of, that in divers sorts and manners. If therefore the ignorant man speaketh, I will shew him in the Church of God an excellencie in decencie, Majestie of Ceremonies above all other Sects and Religions, whereby dull capacities are sweetly ensnared, to beleieve the truth they hear, from whom they see to have the outward Signs of vertue and devotion. If the unlearned ask; I shew him the claim of Antiquitie, the multitude, the advantages of sanctity and learning, the justifiableness of the cause, how the world was once in this accord, and those who opposed, when they first parted, first began the Schism; how the points of difference be such as on the Catholike side help devotion, and on the contrary diminish the same, and such like sensible differences which will clearly shew a main advantage on the Catholike side, which is the proportionall motive to his understanding: To the Grammarian I will give two *Memorandums*.

First, that seeing Catholiques were first in possession both of the Scriptures and the interpretations, the adverse part is bound to bring such places as can receive no probable Exposition by the Catholikes. It is not sufficient that their Expositions seem good or better; that is, more conformable unto the Text, but they must be evincent, to which no so sound answer, even with some impropriety can be given. For who knoweth not, that is conversant in Criticks, how many obscure, and difficult places occurre in most plain Authors: and the Scripture of all Books (the greater part of the

the men who wrote them, specially the new Testament, being not eloquent, and writing not in their native tongue) for the most part are subject to many Improprities.

The other *Memorandum* is, That to prove a Catholike point by Scripture, it is sufficient that the place brought, do bear the Explication the Catholike beareth, and if it be more probable by the very letter, it is an evincent place. The reason is, Because the Question being about a Christian Law, the Axioms of the Jurists taketh place that *Consuetudo optima interpres Legis*. So that if it be manifest that Christian practise (which was before the controversie) be for the one sense, and the words be tolerable, no force of Grammar can prevail to equalize this advantage. The Grammarian therefore who will observe these rules, I turn him loose to the Scriptures, and Fathers to seek in them what is the faith of Christ, and properties of his Church to know her by. Of the the Philosopher I exact to go like a Philosopher, and to search out the specificall differences of every Sect, and when he hath found them, *if any one but the Catholike hath any rule of Faith and good life*: which I remit to him to enquire. But at least when he hath found the Catholiques to be this claim of Tradition before declared, then, if this doe not bring him as demonstratively, as he knoweth any conclusion in Philosophie, and Mathematicks, to the notice that this is the only true Church of Christ, for my part I shall quit him before God and man. The Divine if he hath tra-

ly understood the principles of his Faith in the nature of a Divine (I mean, *Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption, Eucharist, Beatitude, the Creation and Dissolution* of the World) and hath seen the exact conformitie with the deepest principles of nature, with an unspeakable wisdom of the contriver: If he does not plainly confesse it was above the nature of man to frame the Catholike Religion, and seeth not that onely, that is conformable to nature and it selfe; I say, he hath no ground sufficient to be of it. At last, the Statesman who is truly informed of the Church, (how far it is really of Christs Institution, and what either pious men have added, or peradventure, ambitious men encroached,) If he does not find a government of so high and Exotick strain, that neither mans wit would dare to have attempted it, neither mans power could possibly have effected it. If he findeth not eminent helpes, and no disadvantage to the temporall government, I shall think there wanteth one Star in the Heaven of the Church, to direct these Sages to *Bethlehem*. But if God Almighty hath in all sorts and manners provided his Church, that she may enlighten every man in his way, which goeth the way of a man; then let every man consider, which is the fit way for himselfe, and what in other matters of that way he accompteth evidence. And, if there be no interest in his soule, to make him loath to beleeve, what in another matter of the like nature he would not stick at, or heavy to practise what he seeth clearly enough, I feare not his choice; but if God send him time
and

and meanes to prosecute his search any indifferent while, it is long ago known of what religion he is to be of.

After this followeth no order of Chapters, because it is applied to the discourse which was occasion of it.

Although if what is already be not satisfaction unto the writing, and the Author thereof, (for whose sake and contentment, all that hath been discoursed hitherto, hath been set down :) I confesse, that I have not ability to give him satisfaction : yet least it should be interpreted neglect, If I did not make an application of it unto the writing, I shall as breifly as I can, for avoiding tediousnesse, runne over the discourse. And true it is, speaking of the Church of *Rome*, as this day it is the true Church of God : I answer the doubter, she neither hath, nor can have any error, which he need to feare, and be shy of. The which two limitations I adde, for avoiding questions, impertinent to our discourse. The first, for those which are concerning the connection of the Sea of *Rome* to the universall Church. The latter, to avoid such questions as touch that point, whether the Church may erre, in any Phylosophicall or other such like matter? which questions are not so pertinent to our matter.

Neither doe I remit the Questioner unto Scripture for his satisfaction, although I hold Scripture.

ture a very sufficient meanes, to satisfie the man, who goeth to it with that preparation of understanding and will, which is meet and required. Howsoever this I may answer, for them who prove it out of Scripture, that because they dispute against them who admit of Scripture, and deny the authority of the Church, if they can convince it, they doe well; though they will not themselves admit generally of a prooffe out of Scripture, as not able to prove every thing in *foro contentioso*.

That they say, the Church is made infallible, that we may have some guide, I think it very rationall. For nature hath given ever some strong and uncontroulable principle in all natures to guide the rest. The Common-wealth hath a Governour not questionable, our understanding hath some principles, which she cannot judge, but by them judgeth of all other verities. If there should not be some such principle in the Church, it were the onely maimed thing God had created, and maimed in its principall part in the very head. And if there be such a principle, the whole Church is infallible by that, as the whole man seeth by his eyes, toucheth by his hands. Neither can I deny, but that the Author well excepteth, or assumeth, that there is no lesse necessity, the Church should be known to be infallible, or which is this Church, then that there is one. For if I should admit absolutely, that it is necessary for every man to know the Church is Infallible, precedently to the knowledge of which is the true Church, I should forget

forget what I had before said, that satisfaction is to be given to every one, according to his capacity. It is sufficient for a Childe to beleeve his Parents, for a Clown to beleeve his Preacher, about the Churches Infallibility. For Faith is given to mankind, to be a meanes to him of beleeving, and living like a Christian : and so he hath this second, it is not much matter in what termes he be with the first. The good women and Clownes in *Italy*, and *Spaine*, trouble not themselves to seek the grounds of their faith, but with a Christian simplicity, seek to live according unto that their Preachers tell them ; and without question, by perseverance, come to the happinesse, great Clearks by too much speculation may faile of. Such therefore know no otherwise the Infallibility of the Church, then because she telleth it them, to whom they give credit, as innocently as any child to his Mother.

The Church therefore was made infallible, because so it was fitting for her Maker, so it was fitting for her selfe, so it was fit for that part of mankind, that had more refined wits ; not because it was necessary for every one which was to come to her, or live in her, whereof the greatest part first commeth to her, drawn by some of the meanes before delivered, and beleeveth her about her infallibility.

Neither doe I remit him to a generall and constant tradition, as if himselfe should climbe up every age by learned Writers, and find it in every one. I take it to be impossible. Testimonies

one may find in many ages, but such as will demonstrate and convince, a full tradition, I much doubt. Neither doe I find by experience, that who will draw a man by a rope or chain, giveth him the whole rope or chaine into his hands, but onely one end of it, unto which if he cleave hard, he shall be drawn which way the rope is carried. Tradition is a long chaine, every generation or delivery from father to sonne, being a link in it. I send him therefore no further then to this present age, where he shall (beyond all doubtfulness) find that this doctrine was delivered unto this age, by the care of their Ancestors. And if we seek upon what termes, we find, that upon a fixed opinion of damnation in failing; and so, that they had received it so from their fore-fathers upon the same termes, with opinion that it had continued ever since Christ his time by this meanes. And he who is able to look into the meants, how this can remaine constantly so many ages, may find it not onely the far securer, but an evidently infallible succession of doctrine, inviolable as long as there is a Church. And this doth not onely shew that there is one, but which she is, and that there can be no other. For I suppose, no man will be so senselesse as to say, the Apostles preached one thing in one part, and the contrary in another: wherefore it will be agreed, that once the Church agreed in her faith. This supposed, let us set the time when one part changed, and will it not be evident, that the changing Church being challenged cannot plead, she received

ceived it from her Ancestors, because it is manifestly false to both parties: Then must needs one onely Church remain with that claime. And although we did not know what the *Greek Church* doth by her History, yet the force of consequence would tell us, they cannot doe this which the *Westerne Church* doth, because the doing of one is incompatible with the doing of the same by the other.

As for the two places concerning the Popes and Councils infallibility, it is not to my purpose to meddle of them; because on the one side, the way I have begun, there is no need of those discourses; and on the other, I should engage my selfe in quarrels betwixt *Catholique*, and *Catholique*, obscure the matter I have taken in hand, and profit nothing in my hearers, more then to be judged, peradventure to have more learning then wisdom to governe it withall. Wherefore I shall omit those Paragraphes, if I onely note concerning the tradition imposed upon *Papists*, that the very narration of it, sheweth that it is no tradition; in the sence we speak of tradition, but in the sence some Heretiques have pretended tradition; as it were a doctrine secretly delivered, and gathered out of private conference with the Apostles; and not their publique preaching delivered to the Churches, which is the way we exalt tradition in. The witnesses also of ancient Fathers are no parts of tradition, but signes and markes where it hath passed, whereas the body of tradition is in the life and beleife of the whole Church. For the Church

(as I have said) is an essence composed, as it were, of interne and externe parts; the interne being faith, the externe, the outward action, which must needs be conformable to the internall faith, nor can there be a materiall change in the action, but it must argue the internall change of faith, nor internall change in faith, but it must draw with it an Iliad of altered actions.

As for the place of *Fevardentius*, which alloweth many Fathers to have fallen into errors, I thinke it will not trouble him, who is acquainted with the course of the present Church, wherein divers, who be thought great Divines, fall into errors, for which their bookes sometimes are hindred from the print, sometimes recalled, or some leaves commanded to be pasted up. The reason is, the multiplicity of Catholique doctrine, which doth not oblige a man to the knowledge of every part, but to the prompt subjection, to the instruction of the Church, wherefore many men may hold false doctrine inculpably, not knowing it to be such, even now after the learned labours of so many, that have strived to open and facilitate by method, what is true and what is false; much more in the Fathers times, when there was great want of so many compilers, as these latter ages have produced.

As for the two points, he saith, avert him from Catholique doctrine, I am mistaken, if he be not mistaken in both. The first is, that Catholique doctrine damnes all, who are not in the union of their Church. He thinketh the sentence hard, yet,

yet, I thinke he will not deny me this, that if any Church does not say so, it cannot be the true Church: For call the Church what you will, the Congregation of the Elect, the Congregation of the Faithfull, the Congregation of Saints, or Just; call it, I say, or define it what you will, doth it not clearly follow, that whosoever is out of that Church cannot be saved; for he shall not be Elect, Just, Faithfull, &c. without which there is no Salvation. How then can any Church maintaine these two propositions? I am the true Church, and yet one may be saved, without being in me. But peradventure he is scandalized, that the Catholique Church requireth actuall communion, externall with her, which he thinketh in some case may be wanting, without detriment of Salvation. But how would he have the Church speake, which speaketh in common, but abstracting from such particular cases, as may change wholly the nature of the question: For example sake; hath not the Church reason to say, he that denyeth the blessed Trinity is an Heretique? It hapneth, one who hath conversed among the *Trithemites*, hearing them use the word Trinity for three Gods, meaning to speak against them, denyeth there is any Trinity; shall this man be comprehended in the foresaid condemnation? Or was the sentence ill pronounced? Neither, as I think. Forbo he was it well done by the Church, to condemne deniers of the Trinity, because *per se loquendo* (as the Philosophers speak) that is, according to the ordinary course, and nature of things, who denyeth a thing

in words, denyeth it in heart; yet the man fore-spoken, did not so, and was not condemned in that sentence. In like manner, when the Church condemneth all such as are not in actuall union, and communion with her, she doth well: because according to the ordinary course, this doth not fall out, without either presumption, and damnable pride, or else culpable, either ignorance, or feare, and love of private interest, before God and his Church. But it followeth not thence, that by accident no man may sometime be excused. The words of our Saviour concerning Baptisme and Eucharist their necessity, are very precise, yet the Church doubteth not to excuse those who have it in *voto*.

But to proceed unto the point. The corrent of Catholique Doctors holdeth, that no man shall be damned for infidelity, but he who wilfully doth mis-beleeve, and that to doe so, it is required that faith be sufficiently proposed unto him. And what is to be sufficiently proposed, is not determined amongst them. There wanteth not Divines, that teach, that even *ignorantia affectata*, doth excuse from Herisie.

On the other side it is most certaine, that no man is damned for not professing, what he is not damned for not beleeving. Wherefore profession being that which engrafteth a man exteriorly in the Church of God, according unto the ordinary opinions of Catholiques; it followeth, that no man is condemned for not being of the Church, who is not for infidelity, for which it is a very
uncertaine

uncertaine case, who be damned and who not. So that the Catholique position is not so crude, as peradventure the Author understood it to be, though the words be rough, and ought to be so, as being of what is according to the course of nature, not what chance and accidents may invent.

The other point was of putting Heretiques to death, which I think he understandeth to be done Vindicatively; not Medicinally. I meane imposed as a punishment, and not in way to prevent mischeife, or oppresse it in the head. If the *Circumcellians* were the first, that is ancient enough for the justification of the fact, although for banishment (which also he seemeth to reprehend) we know the first that could suffer it, did suffer it. *Arrius*, I meane, by the hand of *Constantine*, whom he praiseth for a speech he uttered, before he knew the consequence of the danger, and seemeth to reprehend for his asier and better wits. Saint *Augustine* justifieth such proceeding against Heretiques. Saint *Gregory* advised the like against *Pagans*, (if I remember) and the Church laterly, hath rather increased then decreased in the practise of it. *Mores*'s speech, I beleeve is mistaken, the force of it being, that the banishment of Bishops shewed his faith, because the banished were Catholiques, which shewed *Encins* to be none. But what can be said, if the Church useth that for the prevention of a greater, and more dangerous evil, which all politique Estates use for the remedies of lesse, and lesse dangerous evils, and are commended for it? For if Faith be the way of Salvation,
and

and hereby the bane of Faith; if Salvation be the greatest good, then the danger of a Countries being over runne with Heresie, is the greatest of dangers, greater then the multiplying of Theeves, greater then the unsurety of the wayes, greater then a Plague, or Invasion. Why then doth not reason force us to use the meanes to prevent it, which the same reason and experience, teacheth us to be most efficacious in this, and all other contagious and gangrening maladies of the Common-wealth. I hope reason it selfe, and the zeale of the Author to his own and Countries Salvation, will supply my shortnesse in this point. For supposing a Church be assured she is in the right, and that the doctrine preached by another, leadeth to damnation, I know not why *Caipha's* words should not be propheticall in this case, and that truly it doth not *expedire*, that *unus moriatur pro populo, & non tota gens pereat.*

He urgeth afterwards against the unity of the Church, that it is none such as we brag off. And I confesse we brag of it, and thinke we have reason too. And if it please him to look into the difference of our Country of *England*, and some Land of *Barbarians*, as *Brasile*, or such other, where they live without Law or Government. I thinke he will find, that our bragging is not without ground. For wherein is the difference betwixt a civill Government, and a barbarous Anarchie? Is it either, that in a civill Estate there be no quarrels, or amongst *Barbarians* there is no quiet. The former would prejudice our Courts and Justice,

the

the latter is impossible, even in nature. What is then the goodnesse of Government, but that in a well govern'd Country, there is a meanes to end quarrels, and in an Anarchy there can be no assured peace? This therefore is that we brag of, that amongst us, if any controversie rise, there is a way to end it, which is not amongst them who part from us. And secondly, that there is no assured agreement amongst those who are parted from us; for although to day they agree, there is no bond, nor tye, why to morrow they may not disagree. These two things we brag of, and I think the Author will not deny it. For he confesseth we all agree, in that the Church is an infallible Mistresse. Then it is evident, that if in any controversie she interposeth her judgement, the controversie is ended. He likewise confesseth, that who part from us, have no such definitive authority amongst them, and that Scripture whereon they relie, hath not this vertue, to take up controversies clearly. Again, I doe confesse, most English men confesse a Trinity, the Incarnation, and Passion of our Saviour, but if to morrow, any one or more of them, light upon some book of an *Arrian*, *Trinitarian*, or other Sect, so wittily written, that he putteth probable solutions for the places of Scriptures, sheweth slight wayes, how our well-meaning fore-fathers may have slipped into such an error; what is there to retaine these men, from disagreeing with the rest of their brethern, and betake themselves to the *Arrians*: And when the heat is passed,

light upon some Rabbi, who shall cunningly exaggerate the absurdities (as he shall terme them) Of the Trinity, Incarnation, Passion; say our Saviour did strange things in vertue of some constellation, and delivering these things so oratorically, that for a new heat these things shall seem more conformable, then his *Arrianisme*; what then shall hinder this to become a *Few*, and at last to prove himsefse so great a Clerk, as to write *De Tribus Impostoribus*. Take away the power of the Church (which every man doth, who taketh away the Infallibility) what can retaine any man, why he should not yeeld to that discourse, which seemeth fairest, seeing nothing is certaine? But peradventure, some may attribute power unto the Church without Infallibility, whom I would have consider, but what himsefse saith. For his Church, by the power it hath, must either say, I command you to beleeve me, or I command you to professe this, whether you beleeve me or no. The second I think, no enemy of equivocation will admit, as the former is as much, as if it should say, I know not whether I say true or no, yet you must think I say true. So that if I understand any thing, where there is no Infallibility, there is no Power, where no Power, no Unity, where no Unity, no Entity, no Church. Now for the controversies mentioned (besides that, there is a meanes to terminate them) they be such, as bring no breach of the ancient life, and action of Christians, which all those Opinions doe, which for the most part are reputed to make Heretiques; That some controversies

trouversies amongst us are not resolved, is a thing necessary amongst humane affaires, where things must have a time to be borne, to encrease, to fall; and the greater things are, the greater is their period. Wherefore I doe not see, why this may hurt the Church, more then the Suits which hang in our Courts, prejudice the Government of the Land. Neither can any other Church assume Infallibility to it selfe, because it cannot lay hold of this principle, that it receiveth its doctrine by hands; and so must first professe the Church of Christ to be fallible, or else it cannot part from it.

The last point of the Authors discourse, is, to shew how errors might have crept in. Wherein I shall have no opposition with him, for I doe not thinke the question is, how they should creep in, but how they should be kept out? For the fluxibility of humane nature is so great, that it is no wonder if errors should have crept in, the wayes being so many, but it is a great wonder of God, that none should have crept in. This neverthelesse I may say, (if the Author will confesse, (as I think) he will not deny, but that it is disputable, whether any error in sixteen ages hath crept in) this very thing is above nature. For if there were not an excellency beyond the nature of corruptible things, it would be undeniably evident, that not one or two, but hundreds of errors had quite changed the shape of the Church in so many yeares, tempests, divisions, want of commerce in the body of the Church. But this one

maxime, that she receiveth her Faith by Tradition, and not from Doctors, hath ever kept her entire. And he that will shew the contrary, must shew how it could come to passe, that those who lived in such an age, could say unto their children, this we received from our fore-fathers, as taught them by their fore-fathers, to have been received from Christ and his Apostles, from hand to hand; which if it could not be, the question is resolved, that no error is in the Church of God, which holdeth her faith upon that tenure.

And truly, if the Author desire to examine many Religions, let him look their main ground wherein they relye, and see whether that be good or no. And I thinke amongst Christians he shall find but two, Tradition, and Scripture. And the Catholique onely to relye upon Tradition, and all the rest upon Scripture. And also shall he see, that relying upon Scripture cannot draw to an unity, those who relye upon it; and that more then one cannot relye upon Tradition, which when I have considered, I have no further to seeke, for if I will be a Christian, I must belong to one side. By falling on the one side, I see my fortune in thousands who have gone before me, to wit, that I shall be to seek all my life time, as I see they are, and how greatly they magnifie very weak peices. On the other side, I see every man who followeth it, as far as he follow it, is at quiet; and therefore cannot chuse, but think there to be the stone to rest my head upon, against which *Jacob* his Ladder is reared unto Heaven.

The Author hath through his whole discourse, inserted divers things, which seem particularly to the justification of himselfe, in the way of his search. The which, as I think, on one side I should be too blame to examine (for who am I, to judge the Servant of another man) so, because I cannot think, but that they were inserted for love of truth, and to heare what might be said against them (craving pardon, if on presumption of that, it is his will, I any way offend) I shall touch the matter, wholly abstracting from the personall disposition of any man. And to begin a far of, it is confessed amongst Catholiques, that all sinne must be wilfull, and so as far as any mans doubt in Religion is not by will, but by force and necessity, so far it is not culpable, but may be laudable before God and man. As was without doubt the anxious search of Saint *Augustine* for the truth, which he relateth in his confessions, for who is assured of being out of the truth, must have time to seek it, and so long this doubt is rationall, and laudable. That which must justify this search, is in common, that which justifieth all actions, that a man be sure in the aime he aimeth at, and in the meanes he taketh, not to be governed by any passion, interest, or wilfulnesse, but that he sincerely aimeth, and carefully pursueth in the search of the truth it selfe, for the love of it; and of those goods which depend of the knowledge of it. This is a thing, in which a rationall man can have no other judge then himselfe; for no man knoweth what is within a man, but

the Spirit, or conscience of man. But he himselfe must be a rigorous Judge unto himselfe, for it is very hard to know the truth: when I say rigorous, I mean exact, and fearfull mis-deeming: As holy *Job* was, who said, *He was fearfull of all his actions.* Holy *David*, but amongst all, Saint *Augustine* doth more sweetly complaine of the misery of man, not knowing his own dispositions, and yet he was then forty yeares of age, when passions and heates of youth which make this discussion harder, are generally settled. Besides this, he must have this care, that he seek what the nature of the subject can yeeld, and not as those Physitians, who when they have promised no lesse then immortality, can at last onely reach to some conservation of health, or youth, in some small degree. So I could wish the Author, to well assure himselfe first, that there is possible, an Infallibility, before he be too earnest, to be contented with nothing lesse. For what if humane nature should not be capable of so great a good, would he therefore think fitting to live without any Religion, because he could not get such a one as himselfe desired, though with more then a mans wish. Were it not rationall to see, whether amongst Religions, some one hath not such notable advantages over the rest, as in reason it might seeme, humane nature might be contented withall. Let him cast his accompts with the dearest things he hath, his own, or freinds lives, his estate, his hope of posterity, and see upon what termes of advantage he is ready to venture all these, and then return

turne to Religion, and see whether, if he doe not venture his soule upon the like, it be truly reason, or some other not confessed motive, which withdraweth him. For my own part, as I doubt not of an Infallibity, so I doubt not, but setting that aside, there be those excellencies found on the Catholique party, which may force a man to preferre it, and venture all he hath upon it, before all other Religions, and Sects in the world: Why then may not one, who after long searching findeth no Infallibility, rest himselfe on the like, supposing mans nature affordeth no better?

Another thing may make a mans search faulty, and is carefully to be looked unto; I meane, that it is easie for a man to mistake himselfe, by too much confidence in himselfe or others. He that will make a judgement in an Art he is not Master in; if he be deceived, is to impute it unto himselfe. The Phrase commandeth us to beleeve every man in his Art; he who knoweth and understandeth himselfe, beleeveth not. Therefore when we see Masters in an Art, we are not skilled in, oppose us, we may beleeve we are in the wrong; which will bred this resolution in the Author of the discourse, that if himselfe be not skilled all those wayes in which he pursueth his search, he must find himselfe obliged to seek Masters, who be both wellskilled, and (the matter being subject to faction) also very honest and upright men, or else he doth not quit himselfe before God and man.

I cannot part without one note more, which is, that it is not all one to incurre damnation for infidelity.

delity, and to be in state of Salvation. For the man to whom infidelity is not imputed, may be in state of damnation, for other faults, as those were who having known God by his works, did not glorifie him as they ought: nay, they may be damned through want of Faith, and yet not be condemned for incredulity. As for example sake, if when they have sinned, they know not what meanes to take to have them forgiven, though they be without fault in not beleeving, nevertheless dying without remission of sinne, they are not in state to come to life everlasting. As the man, who should venture into a Wood without a guide, although he did his best to have a guide, nothing lesse might fall out of his way, as well as he, who neglected the taking of one; so if God sent his Sonne to shew us the way of Salvation, and that be but one; as well is he like not to be fayed, who never heard of such a way, as he that heard of it, and neglected it; for neither of the two goeth that way; and who goes not on the way, is not like to come to the end. I know God is good and mercifull; but I know his workes, as far as we know, are dispensed by the order of second causes; and where we see no second causes, we cannot presume of the effects. God is good and mercifull I know, and feedeth the Birds of the aire, and much more men; yet we see in dearths and hard winters, both men and Birds to perish, doe they what they could to get victuals. And how am I assured he will send Angels to illuminate such men as doe their endeavours, that their soules may not perish? But far

far more doe I doubt, whether ever man, who had not the way of Christ, or even of those, who walked in it, did ever doe his best (except some few, and very few, perhaps not two of Christ his greatest favourites) and was not so culpable, that his perdition would not have been imputed unto himselfe. God of his mercy put us in the score of those, of whom he saith, *He will take pittie upon whom he pleaseth, and compassion of them he pleaseth.*

F I N I S.

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mixing Call with your thanks; since I have ever



THE
LORD
OF
FALKLANDS
REPLY.

SIR,

I Receive your intention to instruct me for a great Obligation, but I should have esteemed it a greater; if you would have pleased to let me know to whom I owe the Favour, and should pay my thanks; and if you had not translated the command of *secrecie* from proper to metaphoricall Almes.

I am also to thank you (for in this Age we are beholding to them who doe what is fit) for not

Synesius.

mixing Gall with your Inke; since I have ever thought that there should bee as little bitterness in a Treatise of Controversie, as in a Love-letter, and that the contrary way was both void of Christian charitie, and humane wisdom, as serving onely *αὐτὸν τὸν παρρησιῶν τοῦ διόλου*, to fright away the game, and make their Adversarie unwilling to receive Instruction from him, from whom they have received Injuries; and making themselves unabler to discover Truth (which Saint *Austine* sayes is hard for him to find who is calme, but impossible for him that is angry :) raising besides a great suspicion of ignorance in him that useth it; since it is a very true Rule which we have received from *Hierocles*, *μετὰ συντελεῖ πρὸς περὶ τῆς τῆς ἐπιστήμης δαρείας*, Confidence of knowledge conduceth much to meeknesse: Now in this I intend to take you for my pattern, and the same Author for my Counsellour, *καὶ δυναμένως ἀναστρέφειν τὰ ψεύδη*, and being able to overthrow what is false (for so must I thinke I can, and such I must take your reasons to be, as long as they perswade me nor) *μητὲ σφοδρὸς μητὲ ὑβριστικὸς τὸτο ποιῶν σὺν περὶ τῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διόλου, καὶ μετ' εὐμενῶν ἐλέγχων τὰ ψεύδη ἀναστρέφων, ἢ συγχωρῶν ἕως ἵνα ὡς λέγεται ἀλλ' ἀοργήτως ἀλέων*, resisting Errors without Anger, and pursuing Truth with mildnesse.

Now this I must professe for my selfe, that since I considered any thing in Religion, and knew that there were severall of them in the world, I never avoided to hear (at least) any man that was willing to perswade me by reason, that any of them

them was the true, μήτε πάντας λόγους καταδεχόμενος ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοὺ Ἰουδαίους, μήτε πάντας ἀποδόλων ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοὺ ἀλλοδαίους. Nay rather I have laid wait to meet with such of all sorts, as were most likely to say most on their side (as S. Chrysostome sayes of Abraham, that he did κατασκευάσαι τὰ ἐξέως lay nets for Guests) and though almost all that undertake the search of so important a Truth, doe it better, provided, with sharpness of wit, and soliditie of judgement, yet I verily beleieve that few doe with that indifference and equalitie which is fit for a Judge, and with which I both began and continue it.

Yet (least there might some un-mark't prejudice lye lurking in me, and least I might harbour some secret inclination to those Tenets which I had first been taught) I have ever lean'd, and set my Byas to the other side, and have both more discoursed of matters of Religion with those of the Church of Rome then with their Adversaries, and read more of their writings; though none either so often or so carefully, as this which I am now answering, both because it was intended for my Instruction and confutation; as also because the beauty of the stile and language, in which you have apparelled your conceptions (although

Ovid. Metamorph.

— Non hac
Auxilio tibi sunt Decor est quasius ab istis,
yet) shoves the Author a considerable Person, and I may say of the splendour and outside of what you have said (for my opinion (that it wants soliditie, and that the Logick of it is inferiour to the Rhetorick) is seen by my writing against it) what

Xenophon
Hist. 3.

Tacitus sayes of Vitellius his Armie, Phaleke torquesque splendebant, & non Vitellio principe dignus exercitus; for as he would have had that glorious Army been employed in the defence of a better and braver Prince, so I wish your eloquence had guilded the better cause; *καὶ εἴθ' ἂν λωσσοῖτο τοῦτο ὡς οὐλοῖτο ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐκ.* And (having learn't moreover from the Pagan Divinitie of Hierocles (which in this is conformable to that of most Christians) that *ταῦτα τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀναζητοῦμενον ἐκτεινομένη χεὶρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀγαθῶν; τοῦδε παρὰ θεῶν συντελεσμένου χορηγία εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν: καὶ τοῦ ἐκζητεῖν περικέναι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, τοῦδε ἐκφαίνειν τὸς ζητεῖν ὁρῶντες; ἡ δὲ εὐχὴ μὴ δόκειν εἶναι τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ζητήσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δόσαντες,* that all our search is but the stretching forth of our hands, and that our finding proceeds from Gods delivering the Truth unto us, and that prayer is the best meanes to joyn the latter to the former:) I have not only with my utmost endeavours done my part; but also besought God with my most earnest fervency to doe his; and so *ὡς εἰδοῦσθαι ὅτι ὅλη εὐχὴ τὸ ἔργον συνάπτειν,* joyning Prayer to search, like form to Matter; I doubt not but God who hath given me a will, to seek his Will, also *τὰ ἡ ἀνθρώπου εὐαρεστῶν ἀπορρήματα;* and if I have not the truth already, I shall be taught the truth by him, and by you as his Instrument, or shall be excused, if I find it not; assuring you that I was never more ready to part with my clothes when they were torn, then with my opinions when they were confuted, and appeared to me to be so.

Euseb. Orat.
de Laud. Const.

To begin then with your Treatise, you can say nothing for Tradition, which I will not willingly allow.

allow, Scripture it self being a *Traditum*, and by that way comming to our knowledge, (for I am confident that those who would know it by the Spirit, run themselves into the same Circle between Scripture and Spirit, out of which some of your side have but unsuccessfully laboured to get out between Scripture and Church) but that this way which you propound should be convenient to know what was Tradition at first, I can by no means agree.

Which to consider the better, I will comprehend all the strength of what you have said in a little room, and shut up your Oration into the compasse of some 3. Sillogismes; thus you argue,

What company soever of Christians alone pretend to teach nothing but what they have received from their Fathers, as received from theirs, as so come down from the Apostles, that company alone must hold the truth.

But that company of Christians which are in communion with the Church of Rome only pretend this,

Therefore they alone hold the truth, and the Church.

The Major you prove thus:

If such a company of Christians could teach falsehoods, then (since it is granted that what was at first delivered was true) some age must either have erred in understanding their Ancestors, or have joyned to deceive their posterity.

But neither of these are beleevable,

Therefore neither is it beleevable, that such a company of Christians should teach falsehoods:

The Minor you prove thus; (I mean that they alone

alone pretend it, for that they, I mean all they, pretend it, you take for granted.)

If it be incompatible with the Church of *Rome* doing it, that any else should doe it, then she does it alone.

But it is incompatible, (which is denied, and not yet proved.)

Therefore she doth it alone.

The severall parts of this Argument, I mean first to Answer; and secondly, Whatsoever lyes scatter'd in your discourse any thing to this purpose, or any other unanswer'd in the first part; and thirdly, I will reply to those Answers which you have been pleased to make, to part of that Nothing which I writ, wishing that this last work might have bin longer, I mean that by answering it all, and in order, you had given me occasion to have dwelt more upon my Reply.

Now if I doe not shew that all of the Church of *Rome* do not, nor cannot pretend this, that for two to pretend it is not incompatible (as having been so heretofore) that those who alone pretend this may pretend it falsely, that some men, and in time all may mistake their Ancestors, and have a mind in some cases to deceive their posterity, and that it is not necessary for a whole age at once to joyn in doing it, though it be done (if I say) I shew not this, then let me not bee beleev'd, and if you can shew me that I have not shewed it, I will promise to beleve you.

First, That the Church of *Rome* doth not, nor cannot pretend, that all their doctrine was received by

by them from their fathers as come down from the Apostles, it appeares, because when questions have risen about such things, whereof there was before no speech, yet if a Councell have determined them, they are received with the same assent, as if they had come from the Apostles; and they professe now the same readinesse to receive alwayes any such definition, though about a question now unknown; and it is likely, they have done what they professe they are ready to doe; at least, they shew, that yours is not the ground upon which they build. And I pray aske your selfe, whether those that teach the common people (who are the greatest part of your Church) use to be askt about it by them, or use to tell them, that this they received from their Fathers, as descended from the Apostles, by a continuall verball Tradition. For suppose they told them, that [this Tradition tels us] yet they are not able to distinguish between such as is but Ecclesiasticall, and Apostolicall, or whether this be known to them onely by deductions, or from ancient bookes, and no such uncontinued line of teaching, and not rather perswade them in generall to beleieve it, what by Arguments drawne from Scripture, what from reason, what from Fathers, Councils, or Decretals? I am not certaine what is their course, but I am sure, the most ordinary amongst the Ancients (whom they pretend to follow) was, that when they had told the people, that such a proposition was true, they added [neither is it I that say so, but the Apostle, the Prophet, or

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the

the Evangelist] and mentioned the place, where they thought such a doctrine was included, seldome speak of any verball Tradition (lesse of such a one, upon which you wholly rely) except urg'd to it, when that was impudently claim'd by some Heretique; and when they did (as the *Asian* Bishops about *Easter*, *Iustin Martin* about the age of *Christ*, Saint *Austine* about communicating Infants, *Papius* and *Irenæus* about the doctrine of the *Chiliasis*) then (as *Lucian* tells us, that when that Jugler *Alexander* sent to a City a Verse to be set upon their doores to keepe away the Plague, those houses which used the remedy, were more visited then those that did not so) those doctrines which the Fathers did grace by writing verball Tradition in their foreheads, were not lesse (perhaps more) apt to be after disbeleev'd, then the other which were not in that kind taught.

Now if the Ignorant be not expressly instructed, that upon this ground they are to think that true, which they are bid to beleeve (especially where their religion is easily enough received, onely for being that of their Country) you must allow, that the greatest part of your Church cannot, nor does not pretend, to have received all they beleeve under that Notion; and to know they did, you must have spoke with them all, or have heard them all instructed; for what is in some places so taught, may be delivered upon other grounds in the very next Parishes.

From the Ignorant let us come to the learned,
and

and see whether they doe not both beleeeve more, and require more to be beleeeved, then hath had any such pedigree as you imagine. First, then the great, eloquent, and judicious Cardinall *Perron*, (whom I preferre so much before all those of his side that have been Authors, that [if a Pigmy may be allowed to measure Giants] I should think that the vast learning and industry of *Bellarmino*, and *Baronius*, might with most advantage to their party, and no disgrace to them, have been employ'd in seeking quotations for his large and monstrous understanding to have employ'd them) he, I say, tels us, (and not from himselfe, but from Saint *Austine*) that the Trinity, Pen-nance, Free-will, and the Church, were never exactly disputed of, before the *Arrians*, the *No-vatians*, the *Pelagians*, and the *Donatists*. Now (since without doubt the former ages disputed as well as they could, and so could not instruct their Profelites, better then they confuted their Adver-saries) I think it evident, that more hath since been concluded, then came from Tradition, and that the way you speak of, appeared not sufficient, either to Cardinall *Perron*, or Saint *Austin*. But because *Bellarmino* (being written in a more ge-nerall language) is more generally (though, I thinke unjustly) esteemed then *Perron*, I will aske you a question of him, when he excuseth Pope *John* the 22th. for denying, that Saints enjoy the beatificall vision before the day of judgement (in which he was lead by a Troop of Fathers) because the Church had not then de-
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fin'd the contrary; did *Bellarmino* beleieve, that then Christians had received from their Fathers, as from the Apostles, a direct contrary Tradition to his doctrine? If he did, how could he think the Pope, either possibly to be ignorant of it, or excusable, if he stood against it? If not, then he thought our Age beholding to our Fathers, for finding out some truths, which had no such line to come down by; nay, which the Apostles either taught not, or but obscurely, and so as needs Arguments to deduce it out of their writings; at least, not so generally, but that a Pope, and many more chiefe Doctors of the Church, knew not they had done so, (although you often put us in minde, that *Tertullian* tels us, how in that Church which he governed, the Apostles poured out all their doctrines with their blood) and in his time, Fathers taught not their children so: And this objection lyes against you, as often as any of your side confesse any of the Ancients (accounted Orthodox) to have delivered any doctrine, contrary to that of the now Church of *Rome*, which many of them often confesse, and your selfe doe not deny: for that they could not have done, if an uninterrupted verball Tradition had been then the onely rule of true doctrine, and they had known it to be so (for then they had a way of information, which you must confesse easie, since they might soon have known, whether generally, Christians had been taught the contrary, under such a Notion, and in such a degree, as you speak of) or the Church of *Rome* had not since, either
deviated

deviated from the tradition of one part, or introduced on the other.

But because you knew, that the claime of Tradition could not serve your Churches turne, if any other different from yours made the same; you therefore affirme, that none doth; and prove it, because two cannot doe it; and in this you must give me leave to say, that you imitate the Philosopher, who made Arguments against Motion, though one walked before him; for though we see that the *Greek Church* does it as much as the *Romane*, (though apt to be deceived in the doing it, by the same wayes) yet you hope to perswade us beyond our eyes, by a reason, which indeed ends in an assertion: for, I pray, why may not two companies of Christians, both pretend to such a Tradition, (though opposing each other), as well as the *Asian Churches* and the *Roman* did long together, about the celebration of *Easter*? But not onely that it may be so, but that it is so, you may find by *Jeremy*, *Nilus*, and *Barlaam* (who profess to stand to the Scriptures, the ancient Tradition of their Fathers, and the seven first generall Councils, and they can be disprov'd no way, but by the same you may be so too) over and above the confessions of your own men.

But suppose you did pretend, and alone pretend to such a Tradition, yet you might falsely doe it: for I desire you to remember, that the Apostles delivered, as well Writings as verball Doctrine, and whatsoever the first ages thought

to be contained there, that they might as well deliver to their posterity, as taught them by the Apostles, as what they received by word of mouth; since we use to say, I learnt this of such a man, when we mean from his book, and though you strive to joine verball Tradition in commission with Scripture, yet sure none of you can desire to thrust Scripture out quite from being at least a part of the Rule. Now that they might erre in interpreting their writings (and an error in the cheifest then, might easily cause a generall one since) I think you will not deny, especially since to say, that they left by Tradition every place of Scripture interpreted, would be an evidently false assertion: for how could the Fathers then have written upon it such differently-expounding Comments.

Secondly, How shall it appeare, that there were not once two contrary Traditions claimed by two Parts (as the *Asian* Church, and the *Roman*, whereof, both it seemes claim'd a direct verball Tradition, because one pretended to have received theirs from Saint *Iohn*, and the other, from Saint *Peter*, whereof there is no word in their workes) and that the erring Part did not prevaile? We know, out of the fifth of *Eusebius* History, that the fore-runners laid claime to Tradition, and nam'd the very Pope, that had chang'd the doctrine at *Rome*; which claime (how impudently soever) yet shewes, that men might joine to deceive their Posterity, as pretending to a Tradition, when there was no such; for, if you

you say those were but few, I answer, both that you are not certaine of their number, and since so many may joyn, I pray, what number is it cannot?

Thirdly, Since you must and doe confesse, that some Doctrines, which were not once generally witnessed to have been delivered by the Apostles, are now Doctrines of Faith (as the Epistle to the *Hebrewes* was rejected by the *Roman Church* in Saint *Hierom*'s time, though to her yee use to say, that *Irenaeus* would have every Church agree, and though Saint *Hierom*, whom you would prove to have thought *Damasus* infallible, when it is known, that he thought *Libertius* a Heretick, received it for all that) because you say, that these doctrines had so much Tradition as was *exceptione major*, beyond exception, (though the Church of *Rome* thought not so then,) doth not this rest upon the Logick of those Ages, to conclude what Testimony is so: which might easily deceive them, especially since you confesse also, that particular Traditions may be false (as you instance in the *Chiliasis*) and yet the same reason, which perswaded some to receive them, may perswade more and more in severall times (and so no age need to joyne, as you suppose) and so a false Tradition may grow a generall one; as it seemes that of the *Chiliasis* (if it be one) did, so generall, that *Fustin Martyr* sayes, in his time all Orthodox Christians held it.

Besides, in those things which were beleaved very convenient, and which yet it was fear'd, that
unless

unlesse men thought them necessary, they would be backward to practise, in respect of the contrariety of them to their dispositions, (as confession) how easie was it for them to be after taught, under paine of more danger, then at first they were delivered with? as Physicians often tell their Patients, unlesse they take such a Potion, from which they are very averse, they must unavoidably die, though the not taking of it (even in their own opinions) would but make them lesse likely to recover. Some of great authority (moved by a good meaning) might thus deceive others; these, thus deceived, might deceive others; till, being generally spread, other good men, being loath to oppose them for the same reason, for which others desir'd to spread them, (as we saw *Erasmus*, who beleev'd your confession, not to have been instituted by the Apostles, yet would not reprehend them that said so; thinking it an error, that would increase Piety) they be at last taken to have been commanded by the Apostles, without contradiction.

Indeed all the waies, by which I shew'd in that paper, which you vouchsafed to answer (which I desire not to repeat, to avoid both your being wearied, and my own, ἐξελθόντε μοι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ καὶ εἰρημὶνα μὴ δοξαζέτω,) that errors might come to be generall, all those are waies, by which the same errors might come to be thought to have proceeded from Tradition. *Saint Austin*, and *Tertullian*, agreeing in the sence of the sentence, which we read in the latter, * *Si legem nusquam reperio,*

reperio, sequitur ut Traditio consuetudini morem hunc dederit, habiturum quandoque apostoli auctoritatem ex interpretatione rationis; and it is the more strange, that Tertullian should allow any custome the authority of comming from the Apostles, since in the same place, he gives any man leave to beginne a custome, so it be good (which depends upon his reason, as the reception of it does upon theirs that follow him) and so make it a custome, in these words. *Annon putas licere omni fidei concipere, & constituere, duntaxat, quod Deo congruat, quod disciplina conducatur, quod saluti proficiat, dicente Domino cur non & vobis ipsis quod iustum est iudicatis?* By which it seemes, he was willing, more should be beleev'd then was first taught, and when that way had brought in any thing (for there is the same reason of opinion, as of actions) and made it common, then the former Rule serves to rivet it in, under the false Notion of comming from the Apostles, or having at least equall authority, neither can you except against this, as said by him when he was a Montanist, since your side useth to brag of this, and the like places, as making for them.

To explaine my meaning the fuller, give me leave to consider one question, which shall be, the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin: In the first ages it is a thing granted; that many Fathers beleev'd her, not onely not free from Originall sinne, but not even from Actuell; after this second question came to be more considered, and this first to be defin'd; but yet those of the

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Affirma-

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Affirmative opinion, cannot but grant to those of the Negative, that many Fathers sided with them (or else they were impudent Quoters, who claim three hundred) nay, even in Saint Thomas his time, they confesse, that the Negative opinion was the more common doctrine; and yet see I pray, how things are altered? We have now a History of some Treaties, of two Kings of Spaine with two Popes, by two Embassadours to perswade them to define the Affirmative. The History is written by one Wadding an Irish-man, his Secretary, there I find, that the Bishop of Carthage, (having Order from the Embassadour his Master to desire to presse, nay almost to tear a Definition from his Holinesse about it) tells him (and not falsely) that those who hold the Negative are, *Inter Catholicos soli & pauci unius instituti viri, & unus & alter ab illis edocti*, but a few of one onely Order, and one or two of their Disciples. His Master bids him urge for the contrary: The opinion and subscription of so many Prelates Orders, and Universities, the universall acclamation of the People, the weighty necessity of cutting off scandals; nay, saith he, many Universities suffer none to take Degrees without making a Vow for the Defence of the Immaculate conception; and for the Oppugners, *Constat eos sentire aliter, quam universa docet Ecclesia*, they differ from the Doctrine of the Universall Church: If then an opinion for which nothing is to be said out of Antiquitie, and much against it, which was even lately, the lesse common opinion, could grow to be

be held by so great a multitude in so high a degree, in so short a time, that the much greater part of the Church should now presse to have it defin'd, and that so earnestly, that to remove the opposing Fathers out of the way, they make a confession very advantageous to us Hereticks, that many things have been defin'd by their Church against many Fathers, you may easily see that Opinions may grow very generall, nay grow to claim Tradition in one Age that were unknown in another; for that they claim and prove only because of the the general reception in all Apostolicall Churches, not of any such uninterrupted testimony of Fathers to their Children, that so it hath been taught in all Ages.

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You may see then that all your Church goes not upon your grounds, since if they did so, many of it that stand for the Affirmative must pretend to them, and if they doe, then sure the Pope must have confessed them to be witnesses beyond exception, and would accordingly have defin'd; if they doe not, then this certain way of yours, cannot keep false opinions out of a Church, which makes not that their Rule.

You may also see that opinions first unknown, after but particular, may come not onely to be generall, and to have Tradition claim'd for them, but even to be defin'd; since if a Generall Councell should now meet about this point, it is plain (without Gods immediate working to the contrary, of which you speak not) which would be defin'd, nay, I am confident, that as it is observed of the

Romans that they were twice as long in first conquering *Italy*, as (after) all the world; and as my Lord *Bacon* tells us of one, who was wont to say, *That he had first with much paines gotten a little estate, and after with little a great one*; so it is a much more short, and easie work to bring this to a Definition, then it was before to bring it thus far on the way towards one.

Which if it were brought (it being already almost defined, and ready to topple into a Doctrine necessary to salvation, the contrary being forbidden to be either printed or publikely taught) then (if you forsake not your Religion) you must forsake the Principle; and joyn with *Turnball*, who tells us, That the Churches supreme definition of matters of Faith is the infallible word of God, and together with the ancient Revelation made to the Prophets and Apostles makes up one Object, which is to be held by the Catholike Faith: By which it is plain, he thinks more may be reveal'd (and then must be held) then was to the Apostles and (by consequence) could be delivered by them, which is contrary to what you now say.

And indeed the current of Writers of your own side either knew not this opinion and Argument of yours, or consideringly balk it; else they might save themselves and their Readers the labour of writing, and reading such infinite Quotations: for though they speak often of Tradition, yet they thinke themselves bound to prove it better then by the pretence of your present Church; they pretend to receive it from the Ancient Wri-

ters, (not, say they, that Verball Tradition hath in all Ages been taught to all men, to teach it their children, and that it never slept,) and you are the first whom I have met with, who build upon this; Indeed they know the Greeks have as much claim to such a one (in truth to any) as they, and if they should say with you, that it is incompatible for two to have it, the Greeks may as well argue upon those grounds, that the *Romans* claim it not, because they doe, as the *Romans* can, that the *Greeks* lay no claim to it, because their Church does. And indeed direct experience shewes that this is not, nor hath alwayes been the ground of Christians, that it is not (even amongst you) we see by those multitudes who cry out to have a Doctrine defined; which is so far from having any Tradition, (much lesse your kind of one for it,) that they labour with little successe to shew that there is none against them, and make it plainly appear, that upon your grounds they build not, but prove out of Metaphoricall places of Scripture, some at most but probable reasons, and the Revelations of *S. Bridget*, which are contradicted by those of *Saint Katharine*, (so ill do your Saints agree in heaven, that me thinks, we may bee forgiven, if we have some differences upon earth:) That this hath not been alwaies the way, we see by the example of *Origen*, who having been esteemed by all Christians, as almost a Prophet, no man in his time discovering that he taught contrary to what their Fathers had taught them, was yet condemned many yeers after his decease, and his followers counted

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Vincent Liv.

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counted Hereticks, by the name of *Originista*, which had been impossible, if the following Ages had thought Tradition the onely fit Rule to judge by, and accompted nothing Tradition, but what they received from their Fathers in expresse termes: But if the opinions of Doctors, counted the Gnomons and Canons of Truth (for to that purpose speakes *Naxianzene* of *Athanasius*, and Saint *Austine* of *Naxianzene*, and Pope *Pius* the fifth of Saint *Thomas*, calling his doctrine, the certainest rule of Christian religion, a title deny'd to Scripture) the definitions of Councils counted the highest Tribunals upon earth, assisted by the power of Emperours, which might doe much, when almost all were under one (as may be seen by the multitude which followed *Constance*, to Christianity, and *Julian* from it, and by *Constantius* (as is complain'd) ἐν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκόν in the twinckling of an eye, transforming an *Orthodox* world into an *Arrian*) if these waies, I say, might make a Tenet generall, though no Tradition had come down at all concerning it; and after it please to claim by a Tenure, by which it came not in at first, encouraged by some Rule of some Fathers to that purpose (as some *Frenchmen* say of Cardinall *Richelieu*, that since he had that title, he claimes to have come from better Ancestours then he aimed at, being an ordinary Person; and *Harry* the seventh, though he came to the Crown by his Wives right, yet would hold it by his own) and none after oppose that claime, some not doing it, because they thinke the opinion true, and then

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care not though it be beleev'd upon false inducements, some as being ignorant that ever it was lesse generall (which before the late and happy resurrection of learning, the best read Persons of their time might often be) how deceiving a way is yours, to discover what all ages have thought, by what now a part of the present teacheth, upon what pretence soever, which when you have considered, and not onelie that, what I have said may be, but by severall examples (whereof I will touch some) that so it is, and hath been, then I hope you will be so farre from expecting that I should be moved by your Arguments, that your selfe will wonder that ever you were.

First then, that the *Chiliasts* are Hereticks, or your Church not infallible, which counts them so, is most certaine, and most plaine; and if you be in the right, and that she teacheth nothing, but what she hath received uninterruptedly downe from the Apostles, then they must alwaies have been esteemed so by Christians; whereas their doctrine is so farre from having any Tradition against it, that if anie opinion, whether controverted, or uncontroverted (except that Scripture which never was doubted) may without blushing pretend to have that for it, it must be this of theirs. My Reasons are these:

The Fathers of the purest Ages (who were the Apostles Disciples but once remov'd) did teach this, [as receiv'd from them, who professed to have receiv'd it from the Apostles, and who seem'd to them witnesses beyond exception, that they

they had done so, they being better Judges what credit they deserv'd, then after commers could possibly be.

All other opinions, witnessed by any other Ancients to have Tradition, may have been by them mistaken to have been, so, out of Saint *Austin's* and *Tertullian's* rules : whereas for this, and for this alone, are delivered the very words, which Christ us'd when he taught it.

Of the most glorious and least infirme building, which ever in my opinion was erected to the honour of the Church of *Rome*, Cardinall *Perron* was the Architect (I mean his book against King *James*) and that relies upon these two pillars, that whatsoever all the Fathers (he meanes, sure, that are extant) witness to be Tradition, and the doctrine of the Church, that must be receiv'd for the doctrine of those ages, and so rested upon : If these rules be not concluding, then the whole book being built upon them, necessarily becomes as unconsiderable for what he intended it, as *Bevis* or *Tom Thumb* : If they be, then this doctrine, which is now hereticall in your Churches beleife was the opinion of the Ancient Church. For if being taught by the Fathers of anie Age, none contradicting it, be sufficient, this all for above two Ages (and those the first) teach, not anie Father opposing it before *Dionysius Alexandrinus* (250. yeares after Christ at least) that we know, or Saint *Hierome*, or Saint *Austine* knew and quoted : wherein I note, besides, that both these Fathers, either thought that no signe of the opinion

opinion of the Church, or cared not though it were.

And if Fathers speaking as witnesses will serve, let *Pappias* and *Irenaus* be heard, and believ'd, who tels us it came to them from Christ by Verball Tradition, and *Fustine Martir*, who witnesseth that in his time all Orthodoxe Christians held it, and joynes the opposers with them who denied the Resurrection, and esteemes them among the Christians like the *Sadduces* among the *Jewes*: which proves that you have the same reason *expallescere audito Ecclesia nomine*, to grow pale at the mention of the Ancient Church, (the nearest to the Apostles) as we have to start at that of two hundred years agoe, and to be asham'd of your *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, as wee of *Luther*: Thus that great *Atlas* of your Church hath helpt us to pull it down the same waies, by which he intended to support it, and though he have best of any undergone the burden of proving that to be infallible, which is false, yet he must have confest, that either these are not proofes, or they prove against himself. And this advantage we have, that unlesse you prove your own infallibility (which you will never be able to do) in what point soever you confute us, that falls like a Pinacle without carrying all after it; whereas if we disprove any one of your Religion, we disprove consequently that infallibility, which is the foundation of it all: so that (like them who vse poison'd weapons) wheresoever we wound, we kill, but we are like those creatures, which must be killed all over, or

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else their other parts will remaine alive.

Neither must you think that you have answer'd the *Chilists* by rying them to the *Carporatians* and the *Gnosticks*, (which is but like *Mezenius* his joyning *Mortua corpora vivis*, dead bodies to the living) since the opinions of the two latter, as soon as they were taught, made the teachers accounted Hereticks and were oppos'd by almost all, whereas that of the first, found in above two ages, no resistance by any one known and esteemed Person, and the teachers of it were not onely parts, but principall ones of the Catholique Church, and such as ever have been, and are reputed Saints; though, by I know not what subtilty you dispence with your selves for departing from what doctrine was received from them as come down from the Apostles, and yet threaten us with damnation if we will not believe more improbable Tenets to be Tradition upon lesse Certificate. For as *Aristotle*

Ethicks.

saith τα δυνεζ. μετρεῖ ὁ πρὸν ἀνθρώπου μέτρον, ἐν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνάστη Wine measures to buy with are great, and to sell by are small; so when you are to put a doctrine to us, how small a measure of Tradition would you have us take: one place of one Father, speaking but as a Doctor, seemes enough: but when you are to receive any from us, how large and mighty a measure will yet give you no satisfaction: Neither can I find out what it is by which you conclude, that their Tradition was gathered the Hereticall way from private discourse with the Apostles: *Irenaus* indeed tells us, that *Presbyteri meminermus*, one of which *Pappias* was, but not a word that it

was

was deliver'd in secret, or the auditors but few, nor that others had not heard other disciples teaching the same doctrine; and me thinkes that if you had evinced what you desire (as you seem to me not to do, unlesse to affirm be to prove) it would make more against you; sure if from so small a ground as the word of one onely disciple, that he in private discourse was taught this by the Apostles, a false doctrine could so generally be received by all the first Doctors of the Christian Church; and that so long after *Dionysius Alexandrinus* had used his great Authority to destroy it: Saint *Hierome* was yet halfe afraid to write against it, as seeing how many Catholiques he should enrage against himselfe by it, as he testifies in his Proem to the eighteenth Book of his Comment upon *Isaiah*; what suspitions must this raise in the mindes of those of your own party, least what they esteemed Tradition, had at first no greater a beginning, and no firmer foundation, but onely better fortune; for why might not the same disciple have cozn'd them from whom their beliefe is descended in twenty other things, as well as in this? and why not twenty others as well as he? especially since you confesse some of your doctrine not to have had Univerfall Tradition, but onely Tradition enough; which if those Fathers did not think they had had, for this, they would never have receiv'd it, but have excepted against the Hereticall way of their delivery, if they had known that to be a private one, and a private one to be such, and if they were so deceived in this way, might not they,

and more have been so too in other points, and in time all?

If you say (as it hath been said to me by one whose judgment I value, as much as any one of your Party) that if this opinion had indeed had Tradition, it could never have been so totally extinguish'd. I answer, that I affirm not, that it had, but onely that if the rules of your part be good and valid, then it had; I am sure it hath better colour to plead upon, then any of those other doctrines, which you impose upon us: Besides although it had, yet when Doctors of great authority with the people, had won upon many, first not to think it Tradition, and then not true, and lastly their courage encreasing with their multitude, (for *Saint Hierome* durst not call it) had made it accounted an Heresie, it is not strange that none should rise to oppose it; for by that time burning was come in fashion, which was a ready way to answer all objections, and end all controversies, especiall Piety being grown more cold, and so men lesse apt to suffer for opinions, and the times more ignorant, and so men lesse able to examine what had been beleev'd before them. But you who affirm, that your Church receives nothing, but what hath come to her by Verball Tradition down from the Apostles, must not onely destroy the Arguments, which prove this to have had Tradition, (which you, or any else will be never able to do) but must affirm, that the contrary hath such; which yet their most ancient opposers never pretended too, but

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scot at the opinion as ridiculous and favouring of *Judaisme*, which as wise men, and as good Christians, as they, before them beleev'd to be Orthodox.

Let us next consider that controversie which more afflicted the Church, and for a longer time then any other, that between the *Arrians* and their Adversaries, and let us see, whether even against those there were any such Tradition as you speak of. First then I pray mark what Cardinal *Perron* confesseth, that an *Arrian* will be desirous to have his cause tried by those Authors we now have, which lived before the Question arose; for there, saith he, will be found the Son is the instrument of his Father, The Father commanded the Son, when things were to be made; the Father and the Son are *aliud & aliud*, which who should at this day say, now the language of the Church is better examin'd, would be accompted an *Arrian*. Now though there be no reason for you to disbelieve so learned a Prelate in a matter of Fact (especially since *ὁ υἱος ὁ πατρός*), yet if you please to reconsider those Authors seriously, if you have not mark't it before (as Præjudication blinds extremely) you will then confesse it. Sure then if Fathers in the first ages taught their Children, that so they had receiv'd from theirs, as the doctrine of the Apostles, how could the chiefe Pillars of Christianity have been ignorant of it? or if they knew it, how would they ever have written so directly against their knowledge. For that answer which *Saint Hierome* gives. (as *Saint Austine* to the *Pelagians*

Lib. Con. R.
Fac. Pag. 633.

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giants) that before *Arrius* arose, the Ecclesiasticall Writers spoke *minus caute*, with lesse circumspection, though it brings some salve to the present objection, yet it is a weapon against Tradition in generall, for if through want of care the best and wisest men vs'd to contradict Tradition, (as you must grant they did) then sure much more likely, when they raught by word of mouth, when lesse care is alwaies us'd, then in Bookes, and how then can any age be sure, that by this reason (of *minus caute loquuti sum*) their Ancestors have not mistaken their Fathers, and mislead their Posterity? Look but into *Athanasius*, and see but what he answers to what is brought against him out of *Diomysius Alexandrinus*, truly in my opinion when he strives to make it Catholique Doctrine, he doth it with no lesse pulling, and halting, then *Sancta Clara* useth to agree the articles of the English Church with the Tenets of the Roman. Consider what eighty Bishops, and those Orthodox decreed against *Paulus Samosatenus*, and if you make it consent with *Athanasius* his Creed, I shall believe that you have discover'd a way how to reconcile both Parts of a Contradiction: This I say, not as intending by it to prove the *Arrian* opinion to be true, but that the contrary Party insisted not upon your grounds, but drew their believe out of Scripture, for if there had been such a common and constant Verball Tradition, the chiefe Christians would not through want of Caution have contradicted it, neither could *Constantine*, if it had been then as known a Part of the Christian Religion,

Religion, as Christ's Resurrection, have ever so slightly esteemed the Question, when it first arose, neither would *Alexander* the Bishop of *Alexandria* have remain'd any while in suspense, as *Zozomen* saith he did, *ἡ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκείνου ἐκκλήσεως*, but this being then a Question newly started and spoken of before but by Accidents, and so peradventure *minus caute*, (for the same Author saies, that they did *ἀπορροῖς ἑκαστὸν τὰ ἀντιθέτων ἀποφασίζοντες*) they were therefore faine to try it by Scripture, (esteeming Written Tradition, as sufficient a Rule, as Verball) as you may see by *Constantine's* sown words at the Council of *Nice*, *ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀποστόλων*. The Bookes of the Evangelists, and the Apostles, and the Oracles of the Ancient Prophets teach us clearly what we are to think of the Divinity. Let us therefore cut of these Divinity-inspir'd discourses, seek the solutions of our Questions, which being the Emperours Proposition, and passing uncontradicted (which the Bishops would not have suffr'd it to do, if they had known yours to be so much the best, and most certaine way, and this so hazardous as you suppose) we have reason to believe that they for want of your direction made the Scripture their Rule, and sought out for Truth by the same way, that we damnable Hereticks do, and by that condemn'd the *Arians*, as not having such a Tradition as you speak of, (or if they had, which is very unlikely) counting it so insufficient, as that they were

Theodoret.

were not to conclude by that. Neither did onely that ancient, (and not yours) Councell, but even your own Modern ones shew, that they went upon other grounds, since to have had every Bishop askt what he receiv'd from his Teachers, as receiv'd from theirs, as come downe from the Apostles, would sure have been the shortest way to find Truth, and if they had thought it the best too, it would have sav'd the Friers at Trent many a long dispute out of Scripture, Fathers, and Reason, and the Bishops many a weary session before any thing could be determin'd, or the Parties brought to agree. Besides there is another reason (if I may be pardon'd a little insisting upon my digression) which perswades me that your own Councils define not upon your grounds (that is) because suppose a thousand Catholique Bishops meet and define any thing, yet wee know it is not among you believ'd *de Fide*, without it be confirmed by the Pope, which shewes plainly enough, that you think not they went by such a Tradition, since of that eighty, so many persons from so many severall Parts are witnesses beyond exception, according to your own grounds, and that their Infallibility is not thought to depend upon an Impossibility; that (in the matter of Fact what hath been taught under that Notion) they should either deceive, or be deceiv'd, but upon an infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost, which may be wanting to any company, whereof the Pope is no part, or of whose decrees he is no confirmer. Now to return to my proofes, that against the *Arrians* there was no such

Tradition

Tradition as you speak of, (at least, that was the ground upon which they were condemned) consider, if you please, that in that Epistle which *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* writ to some *Arrians* after the Council of *Nice*, he saith, First, that they assented to the word ὁμοῦσιΘ, Consubstantiall, because also they knew τῶ παλαιῶν λόγῳ τίνας καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐποποιῶντας, καὶ συγγεγραμμένους, some eloquent and illustrious Bishops and Writers had us'd the Terme : In which I note, that neither claim'd he any such Verbal Tradition for this as you speak of, and of that sort which he claim'd, he names onely τίνας some, as knowing too many had writ otherwise to give such a Tradition leave to be generall.

Secondly, He saith, they consented to Anathematize the Contradictors, δια τὸ ἀπεργεῖν ἀχρεοῖς καὶ ἡθελῶν φάνας, to hinder men from using unwritten words, by which he saith (and that truly) that all confusion hath come upon the Church. And if it be askt why the same reason made them not keep out the word ὁμοῦσιΘ, I answer, That I believe (or else he is not constant to his own reason) that he meant onely those words to be unwritten, which were in Scripture, neither themselves, nor equivalently, whereas he took ὁμοῦσιΘ to be in the Scripture in the latter sence : And that by written, he meant in the Scripture onely, appears by what followes, that no divinely-inspired writing (μηδὲ μὲν θεοπνεῦμα γεγραμμένον) using the *Arrians* Phrase, it was neither fitting to say nor teach them : Neither can you say that *Eusebius* being himself a secret *Arrian* prevaricated herein,

for *Theodoret* makes this Epistle an Argument against them, which he would not have done, if either it had seem'd to him to say any thing contrary to the Catholique doctrine, or not to have oppos'd the contrary by a Catholique way, at least without giving his leader some Caution concerning it.

All which reasons move me to think, that the generality of Christians had not been alwaies taught the contrary to *Arrius's* doctrine, but some one way, others the other, most neither, as having been onely spoken of upon occasions; and therefore me thinks you had better either say with the Protestants, that the Truth was concluded (as *Constantine* said it should be) by Arguments from Scripture, or (as some of your own say of other points) that before the Councell it lay in *Archivis Ecclesie*, in the Deskes of the Church, then claime such a Tradition for it, as appears it can never be defended that it had.

Let us consider but two opinions more :

That Infants are not to receive the Eucharist, is now both the doctrine and practise of the *Roman* Church, but six hundred yeeres the Church us'd it; Saint *Austine* accounted it necessary at least in some sence of the word, if not absolutely (which last is most likely, because from the necessity of that, which could not be receiv'd but by them who had received Baptisme, he, and *Innocentius* a Pope, prove the necessity of Baptisme) and an Apostolicall Tradition. If

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therefore both these Ages had gone by your Rule, how comes this difference between their opinions, the Sacrament being the same it was, and the Children the same they were?

This I may consider, and see if the same way that this Doctrine hath been altered, whether any other might not have received change?

Next, that Saints are invocable, you must say, is Tradition taught from Father to Sonne, as deriv'd from the Apostles, if you will be constant to your own principle, now though I might disprove this, first by the many Fathers that beleev'd, the *Just* not to be admitted to the Beatificall vision before the day of judgement (for upon this your side now grounds that) but to be kept in secret receptacles, and by the long time which pass'd before this doctrine was condemn'd: Secondly, by the beginning of it, which was particular Doctors Hypotheticall prayers, with *utrisque animis*, and such conditionall clauses: And thirdly, by *Nicephorus Calistus* his Relation (who in this is a believable witnesse, because he allowes of your opinion) that prayers to the Virgin *Mary* were first brought into the publick Liturgie by one *Petrus Gnaphheus* a Heretick, about five hundred yeares after Christ, yet I will rather chuse to confute this by the confession of *Sancta Clara* out of *Horantius*, who to this objection, that *sub Evangelio* (which must mean when the Gospel was preach't) no such precept is extant, not onely denies it not, but gives this reason for it,

Lib. 1. c. 28

pag. 271.

least the *Pagans* should think themselves brought againe to the worshipping of Men instead of Gods : If upon this or any other reason this were not then taught, then have not all your Doctrines such a Pedigree as you suppose, but allow it were, yet, howsoever it followes, that, some, at least, of the learned of your Church have not been taught that they have, or consequently that it is necessary they should have : Though it seemes to me little lesse then *Montanisme* to believe that any since (as it were a Paraclet) should perfect the doctrine which then was delivered by the Apostles: Neither can you answer that they speake onely of such a Precept, and of being extant, whereas they might teach it lawfull without giving any Precept, and they might have given such a Precept although not extant; for I should readily reply, that the reason they give why there is none such extant, shewes, that they mean there was none at all, neither Precept, nor allowance, since the *Pagans* would have been scandaliz'd at its being accounted lawfull to worship men instead of Gods, although it were not commanded, and not a whit the lesse, whether that in after times were extant or not, which they could not foresee.

The onelic answer which I am able to invent in your behalfe, is this, that though some of your particular doctrines have not such a Tradition, yet there being a Tradition that the Churches definitions are infallible, whatsoever she at any time defines, is then to be believed upon the strength of such a Tradition, and before did *latere in causis*

as Flowers do in Winter.

Yet to this I may reply by desiring you to enter with me into some few considerations.

First, If this were so, and that so much of Christian Religion depends upon the definitions of the Church, and our Reception of them, upon knowing alwaies which is she, and that such is her authority, can you perswade your selfe, that Christ sending his Apostles and Disciples to Preach the Gospel, and after four of them writing his Gospel, (which shewes if the Books be true to the title, that they writ all they preacht, at least that was necessarie, for else they were not Gospels, but Parts of it) that they should not rather leave out any thing else, how important soever, then not have imployed themselves about teaching us, that the Churches Definitions are a Rule of our Faith, and instructing us in Markes so proper to her, that we might never need to doubt, whether it be she that defines or no, and whether their not having done this, evince not in Reason that this your Doctrine is false?

Secondly, I pray consider whether if there were any such continu'd Tradition about the Definitions of the Church, whether that must not also have taught, (or else have been to small purpose) when it is that the Church hath defin'd: but yet that is a case not fully judged among you, For some hold, that the Church hath defin'd when a Councel hath, although unapproved by the Pope, which is denied by others.

Thirdly, Consider whether (supposing as was before

Tom. 13.
Pag. 193.

before suppos'd) it must not also have taught certaine Notes to know the Church by : but yet about those you are not agreed, *Salmeron* putting Miracles among the false Signes of the Church, and *Bellarmino* and many more among the True ones.

Fourthly, Consider whether the Church have an eternall spring of Doctrines within her, or but a finite number, and onely those which the Apostles preacht : and I believe you will pitch upon the latter. Not then to ask how they come to know them, nor, if you answer by Tradition, to ask you againe how come men then not to know (before a Definition) what it is they Preacht : for if the Bishops (of which a Councell is compounded) know it not now, how will they know it when they meet : I will desire to know why the Church will not at once teach us all she knowes, and nor keep us in doubts, which she may resolve : and did the Apostles teach their Doctrines to be lockt up, or taught to us : And then having considered this, you will find I believe, that the Church do with Doctrines, as Fathers with Estates, never give their Children all, that they may still have something to keep them in awe with ; because if she should, she could never have after pretended a Power to end any new emergent controversie, keeping in secret what she knowes, any that ariseth, she may still pretend is endable by her.

Fifthly, Consider that it will appear but a shift, if you say that there is a Tradition that all the Churches Definitions be true, and so excuse the particular Doctrines, for otherwise having none, and

and yet avoid giving us any Rules to know the Church by at all times; and answering those Questions, which must be ended before we can know at any time when she hath defin'd.

Now I confesse if you had said Tradition teacheth, that the particular Church of *Rome* is so the Admiral ship; that we may know any other if it be of God's Fleet, because then it must follow her, that is, be subject to her decrees, & theirs which joyn with her, this would have bin plainly to let me know your mind; and we might quickly have examin'd, whether there were any Tradition for the Church in this sence to be alwaies obeyed when she Teaches, and without you say this, you say nothing, and will never be able to give any such Note of the Church, as the ignorant may without blushing pretend to know it by: Because therefore I guesse, that when not I, but your Adversaries reasons (for I am but one of the worst transcribers of them) have driven you from your own Fort, you must retire to that of your friends, or like them which are drowning, you will rather catch at a Twigg, then sink. I will consider this Assertion, which I suppose you must lay hold of so far forth as to shew it to be indeed but an Assertion. That there hath no such Verbal Tradition (nor indeed any) come downe, seems to me for these reasons.

Saint *Cyprian* by opposing the Church of *Rome*, and that with many Bishops about the Rebaptization, shewes sufficiently, that he and they knew of no such Tradition; and then in what Cave must it have lain hid, if the chiefe Doctor of that age was ignorant

ignorant of it, and even his Adversaries claim'd it not? And that he knew no such, appears not only by his Actions, but also by his words; for to them who claim'd Tradition for the particular point propos'd, (though none for the Authority of the Church proposing) he answers, if it be contain'd in the Gospels, Epistles, or Acts, let it be observed, at one blow cutting off not only that (for sure this authority of the Church of *Rome* is no way taught in the Scriptures) but all other unwritten Traditions, which Cardinal *Perren*, thought most skilfull in that kind of Fence, was not able to ward, but *Du Plessis* objecting it receiv'd no other answer, then that the opinion of *Cyprian* was condemn'd, and that Tradition, although unwritten, maintain'd. Which answer though it be as far from besitting the Cardinall, as from answering the objection (since it is plaine, that this opinion was once held by such as were of chiefe estimation among the Orthodox, and consequently the contrary was not then the generall and necessary doctrine of Christians, and the prevailing of the one since proves not the other false, but rather unfortunate, or the spreaders faulty) yet I confesse I excuse him, for as I have learnt from *Aristotle*, that it is ridiculous to expect a Demonstration where the matter will beare but a probability, so would it be in me to expect even a probable solution of an Argument, the evidence of which will suffer none at all.

Neither was he (I mean *Cyprian*) the first, that without blot of Heresie oppos'd the Tradition

tion of the Church of *Rome*, but that courage which he left to others after him, when they saw the Christian World joyne in counting him a Saint, and a Martyr, whom the Bishop of *Rome* had stiled a false Christ, and a false Apostle, the same had he received by seeing that the *Asian* Bishops had also rejected, and oppos'd her Tradition; and yet *Policrates* sever had in great honour, and the rest never branded with the crime of Heresie; nay, even the more neighbouring Bishops, and who joyn'd with the Pope in the time of celebrating *Easter* (as *Iraneus*) yet thought the difference not worth excommunication, and for want of skill in the Canon Law, transgress'd so farre as to reprehend for it, whereas if to that Church all else had been to conform themselves, then *Iraneus* ought therefore to have thought the matter of weight enough, because she thought it so, who were to small purpose made a Judge, if she were not as well enabled to distinguish between slight and materiall, as between False and Truth, though that it seemes she was not: for the Church of *Rome* never refus'd their Communion before, though she knew them to hold the same opinion, and so (as plainly appears) counted that materiall in one Age, which she had not so esteemed in others, and therefore (in the degree at least of holding what she held) contradicted herself, and followed Traditions.

And as *Cyprian* imitated them, so did the *African* Bishops him, for a Question hapning between them and the Bishops of *Rome* about *Appeales*, though they absolutely oppos'd him, and

(in vaine I confesse) desired him that he would not bring into the Church *Typhum hujus Saculi*, the swelling pride of this World, and though he laboured infinitely in the businesse *παρα λίσσιν αινών*, that he might bring it to passe, yet he, and two of his successors were either so unready, or so unskil'd in the present *Roman Doctrine*, that *Feed my sheepe*, and *thou art Peter*, were either out of their knowledge, or out of their memory, and they alleadged, not any power *jure divino*, but onely pretended to a Cannon of the Council of *Nice*, which when the *Affricans* found not in their coppies, (for they would not believe the Church of *Rome* so farre as to trust to hers, though now you generally think the Scripture it selfe to have its authority *quoad nos*, onely for her definitions) they sent to the *East* to enquire there, and finding their coppies agreeing with theirs, they then more resolutely withstood the *Preence*, which brought at that time nothing to the Popes, but repulse and shame.

And indeed, not to object that it is not numbered among any of the ancient Heresies, that they differ'd from the particular *Roman Church*, nor is this Rule, of being sure at all times to joyne with her, ever given by those Fathers who set us waies and Antidotes how to secure our selves against Heresie, (which could not have been left undone if they had known any such Tradition) nor to speak of the Cannon of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, which attributes the power of the Popes to the gift of their Fathers, and that againe to *Romes* being

being the head City; setting all this aside, I will aske your selfe if it be not plain that those Fathers, who (upon the impudent pretence of some Hereticks) send men to severall places to enquire after Tradition, either send them to all the Apostolicall churches, or (to save their labour) to that to which they were nearest, as esteeming them all of equall authority (though not jurisdiction, for I may say of *Rome*, and them, as *Tacitus* doth of *Calius* and the other Commanders (*Mutato nomine*) the name onely chang'd) *Pares jure, Roma audendo potentior*, for what by watching all occasions to greater herself, whereof Cardinal D' Ossat is my wittnesse, what by abusing the respect all men had ever given her, in respect of the chiefe Apostles which founded her, of the Empire which was long seated in her, and of her ancient Bishops, whereof about thirtie together were martyr'd there, what by interpreting what was given to her Authority, as given to her Power, and taking civilities and complements (of which no Court is now so full as the ancient Bishops were) made to Popes for alleagiance sworn to them, what by forging false decretall Epistles (which the Tearmed Authors of them would not forgive them for, if they knew it, if it were onely for the barbarous language) what by these, and such other waies, she is come at length to that passe, that what *Avulus* a Roman Generall said to the *Ansibarians*, who gave him reasons why he ought not in justice to disturbe their possessions, *Id Dñs placitum, ut Arbitrium penes Romanos maneret quid darent, quidve adimerem, neque alios Fu-*

pag. 208.
and 687.

Tacitus.

dices quam seipfos paterentur. It is the will of Heaven, that it be left to the *Romans* what they will please to give or take away, and suffer not any Judges but themselves, appears now not so much a History of the Pride of the *Roman* Empire, as a Prophecy of the generall doctrine of the *Roman* Church.

Having ever marked Error and Confidence to keep so much company, that I seldome find the first, but I mistrust the second, makes me loath to affirm any thing over-dogmatically out of these objections, or say that they cannot be answered; Onely (because I must not offend against Truth, for feare of offending against Modesty) I will take leave to say, that if I could have answered them my selfe, I would not have put you to the trouble of doing it, which you might also have sav'd, if by letting me know your name, you would have enabled me to have found you out, and so in a short discourse have tried whether I could have obtain'd that satisfaction from your words, which I must now expect from your Pen. But supposing I had none of these objections, yet two things besides would have kept me from assenting to what you say: The first is, that your men, when they aske us how we know Scripture to be Scripture, and this to be the sence of it, tell us withall, that unlesse we know it by some more infallible way then our owne Reason (they mean their Church) it will not serve for a beliefe of those things which are to be believ'd by a divine Faith; Now this Argument of yours upon which you build

build all, (allowing that it appear'd good reason) yet at most it is but reason, and liable to the same exceptions, unless the same thing be a wall when you leane upon it, and a bulrush when we doe. The second is, that all you say (for as yet you speak not of the Authority of the Particular Church of *Rome*, though you must at length come to it, though by that too little is to be gotten) if it were granted, would but prove those who adhere now to the Church of *Rome* to be now in the right, but I asked for a guide, which might without new search serve me the next year, as well as this; For (for all that you have prov'd) she may leave the way you say she now pretends to walk in, and attempt to reform too, (which I wish were as probable as it is possible) or there may arise a schisme between two parts of those Churches which now adhere to the *Roman*, and both may claime Tradition, (for what hath been may be againe) and how shall I know then which side to take, since both will seem equally good by that Touchstone which you appoint me to try with. And if I be then sent to try by Ancient Writers, it is certaine, that (besides the fallibility of that way for the learned) this cannot be done at all by the ignorant, and it is probable that both Parties will fall into that absurdity, into which the Church of *Rome* daily runs, which is, that although the evidence which she claimes by cannot well be exactlie read over in thirty yeares time, yet she requires us under paine of Damnation to give our Verdicts for her by twenty yeeres old.

The Second Part.

Object.

THe high and Sage Master of our Faith hath in vaine spent so much sweat, and paines, if after he passed from hence, he hath left no meanes to assure mankind, what it was he taught and practised.

Resp.

I suppose this speech is directed at me who (as you conceive) take away all meanes, because I have no Judge, but I would faine know of you, whether *Plato*, and *Aristotle* have not left us meanes to know what they taught, although they have not left us any living infallible Judge to deliver us their doctrine verbally, or to expound their works : Or if you intended your Accent upon the word *Assure*, and if you mean by that some infallible knowledge, I desire you (out of your own words) to consider whether humane nature be capable of it. For my part supposing as I doe, that his Faith is in a sufficient degree, which brings forth obedience, I require not any motives more, assuring (except from them who claime, that they cannot erre) then such as any man unpræpossessed with passion or prejudice will beleieve sufficiently to obey ; and such in my opinion are mine : For though I know, you count any way without a guide but groping in the dark, yet if God had not given us so much light as we desired, we must not therefore set up false lights, and because we would be sure to have a guide, make one our selves : But he seemes to

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me, to have dealt with us in Religion not very un-analogically, to what he hath in the world, giving us two lights, Scripture, and Universall Tradition, whereof one gives light to the other, and both to us: Universall Tradition is our Guide to Scripture (as whatsoever else that guided us to we would receive, if there were any such thing) and Scripture is our way to God; By Universall Tradition we know much better, that these Books were written by Christs Disciples (who are sufficient witnesses of what he taught) then the *Aristotelians* know that these were *Aristotles* works, or the *Academicks* knew *Plato's*, since Christians have both kept them with more care; and in the acceptance of them used more caution; as thinking them so much more important: In the Scripture I conceive, that (according to that rule, which I am sure I have either read in *Chrysostome*, or very often quoted out of him) *intra divinalia Nova*, all that is necessary is clear; or if any man that strives to square both his actions and opinions by that Rule, chance to fall into any error (for which his understanding is onely in fault and not his will) it shall not hinder his rising to heaven: Such an infallible way excludes, if not all use, at least all necessity of an infallible guide; and is as good as a Judge to keep Unity in Charitie (which is onely needfull) though not in opinions; and indeed since you must grant, that if any man misinterpret the Council of Trent, it shall not damne him; so he doubt not of its truth, desire to discover what

what it meant; and be in a Propension of beleeving, that when he knowes it, he thinks (as *Cineas* told *Pirrhus*) you had as good doe that at first, which you must doe at last, that is, say the same with us at first concerning Scripture, which after much trouble, you are forced to say concerning Councels, and in hard matters let the same implicate Faith in God serve, which serves in them, who can claime no authority but from, and under him: And (which is more then I affirme) that no man, but by his own, being wicked, can come into any error by false interpretation of Scripture, see I pray, what *Saint Augustine* saies in his forty ninth Sermon *de Verbis Domini*, that God hath so hedg'd in all his own sayings, that whosoever would interpret any place of Scripture false, he that hath a circumcised heart by reading what is before and after, may find that sence which the other would pervert.

Yet if you can shew me reason to beleeve that there is any standing guide upon earth (and without reason it were unreasonable to hope to perswade me to beleeve it) I will never be proud so much to my own cost, as rather to venture loosing my way by chusing it my selfe, then beholding to him for directing me in it.

Object.

Those to whom during his life, he had most fully declared his mind, went and told it to others, and all was done; But this way hath the prejudice of humane Fallibility, for seldome it hapneth, that a multitude can carry away all in the same manner, and one thousand six hundred yeares are passed since,

yet

yet if we looke into the immediate joyns of the descent, we cannot finde where it can misse: for the doctrine being supernaturall, and not delivered by any mans skill, or wit, the maine principle of it can be no other, then to know what was delivered them by their Teachers: when therefore an Apostle had preached over and over again the same Doctrine, not long, nor hard to be carryed away in all the Townes of a Countrey, and let him be gone, and all dead who heard him speake, and some questions arise concerning his doctrine, let us see whether error can creep in if Christians keep to their hold, that is, what they were taught by Christs Apostles. Let therefore the wisest and best of those Townes meet and discusse the controversie out of this principle, will not there be a quick end of their dispute? For every man can say, Thus my Father heard the Apostle speak, and what is here certaine of the Children of those who heard them, may with as much evidence be deriv'd againe in the Grand-children, and so in every age.

Those writings, whose businesse is to prove, should be like the houses in the Low Countries, for as there they take such care of their foundations, that what is under ground costs them more then all above it, so in these, the greatest labour ought to be in settling surely the Principles, because ~~in this manner~~ one aburditie granted, how fertile error is after, what a heard or swarme of strange conclusions follow, not onely your selfe have observ'd, but Aristotle also hath told all that have read him, and experience daily tels mankind;

Resp.

since therefore a small mistake encreaseth as much, and as speedily as a graine of mustard-seed, I must the earnestlier contradict this ~~error~~ ^{error}, this first error of yours, as being the Parent of so many more already, and being likely in time (if by being confuted it be not us'd as *Saturne* us'd his Father) to have yet a more large and numerous Issue.

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Then you leave out one thing out of your History of the Gospell, which alone consider'd, would have much weaken'd what you say, For you speak of the Apostles, but forget utterly their Writings, a mis-interpretation of which might soon spread an error. And certainlie out of them, if Christians had been to receive no Instructions, but onely to remember what was taught them by word of mouth, both they would have sav'd themselves the labour of writing them, and Traditors, who deliver'd them to be burnt, would have been thought to have committed no greater fault, then if they had done the same to any ordinary writing. But if the first Christians, and generally their successours since, have ever carefully and assiduously studied (what by comparing places, what by all other waies) to understand them, and thought themselves bound to beleve, and obey whatsoever they found, or thought they found there contain'd, and esteem'd that they were taught by themselves, what they learn'd from their writings, (as they must have thought in the same thing, unless the Apostles authority had vanish, by having their instructions

ons put into paper, which were as if the Kings verbal Commands bound us, but not his Proclamations.) Then here appears a gate at which errors might enter, which you (at least I am sure this part of your Treatise) did not consider.

But even their verbal might either be mis-interpreted, or knowinglie misalleged, even by those who are counted Arch-Catholicks, for I pray, must not one of those two have been done, or by the Church of Rome, or by those of Asia (which example I would not so often speake of, but that I hope *his is as good an excuse, as his is*) For since it is impossible, that Saint John and Saint Peter both inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of Truth, should teach contradictorie doctrines, whereof one must necessarily be false, what else can follow, but that one part (if not both) intended to deceive, or were themselves deceived in it (and what makes it impossible, that such a mistake by men of authoritie may not generallie spread) and after a plaine example your reason will be no more able to overthrow experience, then the earthen Pitcher, in the Fable, was to break the Brasen one, *κατα λυγρον σκευος*.

One of the Arguments you make for the Infalibility of the way which you propound, is, *That the Doctrine, which the Apostles taught was neither long nor hard to be carried away*; Out of which one thinks I can evidently deduce that the Church of Rome is not that, since both it appears how long that is, and since you tell us your selfe *that the cause*

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Secret. lib. 5.

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of many errors among you is the multiplicity of Catholique Doctrines, which doth not oblige a man to the knowledge of every Part, but to a prompt subjection to the Church. Truly if there be no contradiction between these two Propositions, I will confesse that I have hitherto mistaken what the word signifies, unlesse you mean, that the Apostle by teaching subjection to the Church inductive-ly, taught all that she teaches; and so what they delivered was short, but what implicitly, much; If this were so, certainly the Apostles, when they included almost all their doctrine in the subjection enjoin'd to the Church, taught some certaine markes by which men might at all times know her, though you pretend to none but such as the Greeke Church as much claime (which is enough to scruple the ignorant) and rightly too, as the Roman (as Antiquity, Succession, Miracles, &c.) excepting onely communion with the Pope, and splendor, whereof neither are proper markes of the true Church, that is such as can never be absent from her, since the Heresie of a Pope (which hath been, and is not by your owne whole Church held impossible) may take away the one way, and a generall Persecution the other.

It appeares also by what you speake of the immediate joyn'es of the descent, that you suppose if any error come in, some one Age must joyn to teach it, which by no means followes, no more then one Age of them at Rome joyn'd to teach their Posterity Italian instead of Latine, but some may have taught a Doctrine to be probable in one Age, more then

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in the second, and all in the third, according to *Seneca's* observation. The error of few (especially when Notable Persons) begetting the error of a multitude, and againe the authority of a multitude deceiving Particular men, and so by degrees it may be thought from Probable, True, from true *fert de Fide*, from that absolutely a part of Faith, and consequently to have come from Tradition, whilst the contrary opinion being first believ'd the more improbable, next false, from false Temerary, from temerary, *Heresi proximum*, and from that absolutely Hereticall, hath by almost insensible degrees met with a mighty change, and is arriv'd at Hell before it almost misdoubted it. And that these progresse-Doctrines have travel'd, it is easie for any man to see who hath been but a little conversant in your own Books, and whosoever denies it, may as well deny that their is any green in Summer, when there is hardly any thing else.

And for the Case you put, that the wisest, and best of the Townes where Doctrines were delivered should have met &c. I both suppose, that the controversie of who were best and wisest, would not it self have been easily ended, but allowing that it might have been easily done, and would have been most usefully done, yet it never was, and so suppose the way never so good, it was yet like a Medicine, which be it never so Sovereigne, can never cure if it be never taken. Councells there have been call'd Ancient, because lesse Modern, and generall, because lesse particular (for the
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first was not till more then three hundred yeeres after Christ; nor to the largest appeares it, that ever any were summoned from beyond the bounds of the Ancient Roman Empire, though Christianity were much farther extended: Some lesse meetings or *Conciliabula* there were indeed before; but none of these accounted infallible by your selves (though me thinks they should by your grounds) and indeed it would go ill with your own infallibility if you should; for of the two most notable, the one defended Rebaptization, and the other condemned *Sacrosanctum*; and in doing so taught as plain *Arrianisme*, (if we might know mens meaning by their words, which if we cannot, all arguing, especially from what any Authors say, is ended) as even *Arrius* himself was condemned for at *Nice*; If these intended to discusse the Controversie out of the Principle you speak of, and yet miss'd Tradition when they meant to have followed it, then so might your best and wisest men have done too; if they did not intend it, then it seemes it hath not been held needfull alwaies by Catholikes to try Doctrines by that *Criterium*, which you now prescribe.

Object.

Whocan be ignorant what he was taught when he was a child, as the ground and substance of his hopes for all Eternity?

Resp.

Truely the ordinary sort more then most easily: For because either their mind wanders, or their Teachers descend not to their capacities, they commonly got away both from publique Sermons and private Catechismes, as if they had receiv'd

receiv'd instructions in a language as strange to them, as that wherein they say their prayers: Besides their own Fathers teach them little or nothing, because that is as much as they have learnt themselves, (especially in ignorant places and times) their Ghostly Fathers teach them most, but that much more concerning life then opinions; so that though they were not ignorant of all they were taught, yet they are absolute strangers to the greatest part of what your Church teaches; And it now no more of their Religion be delivered by Verball Tradition, what was then, when many points, which are now often taught (though not constantly and in all places but upon occasions) were not thought of in many yeeres. Suppose that about the Question of what makes a Priest; a convocation of men had met (I mean of such who knew not what was taught in Bookes) before *Luthers* time (and what I say would be true in somewhat a lesse degree of this more instructed Age) what account could they have given what they had been taught when they were Children? Truly they could have said, we know it to be the custome for our Bishops to make Priests, and some of us have heard he onely is to make them, what is done and taught in other places we know not: Very far would they have been from all agreeing that they were taught when they were Children (as part of the ground of their hopes for all Eternity) by their Fathers, as receiv'd from theirs, as come down from the Apostles, that he is no Priest, to whom in expresse termes

*Wadd.
Pag. 30.*

Commission is not given to offer for the living and the dead, which now being objected to the Clergy of *England*, perswades me, that your Church teacheth more then generally men are taught when Children, or indeed at any time by any Verball Tradition: For not onely the Ordinary sort, but even your most learned men knew not what is Tradition, if that be still your Rule of Faith, for they disagree among themselves, whether some things be of Faith or no; as for Example, Whether the Pope can erre in the Canonization of a Saint, for if all Questions were that way to be ended, and such Traditions were evident, (as if they were such as you speak of they must be) all your side must be soone resolv'd both in this, and all other such Questions; And if you say that indeed all Particular Doctrines are not taught by such a Tradition, but that by so much as all are taught, they know their Judge and Director concerning them, and so are taught them implicitey, I answer, that the Vulgar, although they are generally told that the Church is infallible, yet I doubt whether they be either taught that this Doctrine hath had any such generall and uninterrupted a delivery, or have heard much concerning those meanes, by which she her selfe is to be known, or those Circumstances, by which we are to know when she expresseth her opinion: That the Pope is the Head of the Church they know, but whether Tradition teach him to be so of Divine, or humane Right, from God, of Councils, or tacite consent, and what Power is included in that Headship,

ship, a *Mahumetan* is as much instructed as most of them, and even his head-ship is ordinarily prov'd to them but out of some place of Scripture, out of which they hear his Infallibility concluded too, without being told the different degree in which those two Doctrines are to be held. *Secondly, For the learned, neither are they taught so well some of these things, but that they differ concerning them, and your self fly wholly speaking of them, leaving them to agree among themselves, and (as Cardinal *Perron* saies in one place, he will do us Protestants when we differ) suffering the dead to bury the dead; If then neither are you all agreed by what to know your Church, nor when she hath defin'd, so that even what is of faith is undermined among you, I find cause to believe; that Tradition is no excellent Director of you, even in your grounds, no not to teach you to know that which should teach you all the rest; And if you were, yet at the same wicket, and by the same degrees, by which I have shewd that other errors both may, and have not onely entered into your Church, but ascended also to high places there; this doctrine concerning your Director might have done the same.

His *Opusc.*

True it is, that very little is generally and constantlie taught in all ages to the people, and that which is seldome, is told them to have been so receiv'd from hand to hand by the verball Tradition you speak of; and if they be at any time taught so, and remember it, yet they know not whether the next Curate teach the same, at least,

if under the same notion and degree of Necessitie : Indeed it would not be so intricate a worke (as now adaies it is) to be a Christian, if your way had been onely followed: but it is not this Tradition, but the writings of past Ages, which transmit to posteritie the opinions of the Doctors of past times, many of them being erroneous, and more unnecessary; out of these works the learned learne, and teach againe in their workes, what the greater part (the unlearned) scarce ever heare of; out of these they settle the degrees your Doctrines are to be held in, some as probable, some true, some almost necessarie, some altogether, and teach concerning others, that some are false, some dangerous, some damnable, whereas the vulgar have seldome their meat so curiously joyned to them, but are told in generall for the most part (unlesse some publick opposition, or other occasion perswade them at some time to descend to teach them more particularlie) that this is so good, and this is not so: And indeed the degree in which the last Age held such an opinion, is both most hard to know (not onely because the ignorant are seldome taught it by word of mouth, and the learned have seldome occasion, without some opposition, to explaine themselves so farre in their writings) but because also as many, and as considerable Persons not writing, as doe write, we cannot know by the Authors, what the whole Age thought true (except the acceptation of that Doctrine were a condition of the Communion.)

nion) and most necessarie to be known, because most of our controversies with your Church are as much, if not more, about the necessitie of her opinions, as about the truth of them: For we seeing plainlie, that in the purest ages many of the chiefest Doctors have contradicted some of her Tenets, without suspicion of Heresie, are not able to conceive how a doctrine should, from being indifferent in one age, become necessarie in another, and the contrarie from onely false Hereticall,

————— *As time makes Botches Pox,
And plodding on will make a Calfse an Oxe.*

Dr. D.

especially if that way had allwaies been walkt in, which you now speak of.

No judicious man can deny to see with his eyes, (if he have cast them never so little upon the present state of Christendome) that there is one Congregation of men which layeth claime to Christ his Doctrine, as upon this title, that she hath received it from his Apostles without interruption, delivered from Father to Son untill this day, and admits not any Doctrine for good and legitimate, which he doth not receive in this manner.

Object.

What the Judicious (of whom I am no member) can do, I know not, but I not onely can, but do deny it, you meaning by that Congregation the Church of Rome, for by seeing, that not upon this, but other kind of claim certaine Doctrines have arrived to the very brink of being defined; I have cause to think, that if they received none in up-

Resp.

*Prefat. in
Hilar.*

on other grounds, these would not be suffered to stand so neer the doore. And indeed there being between your selfe such differences, that *Erasmus* tels us, that he who is a Heretick among the *Dominicans*, is Orthodox to the *Scotists*, sure one side hath admitted of a Doctrine for Legitimate, which hath not been so received, and then me thinks this being easily endable, which it is, by seeing which claimes such a delivery, (for if both do it, then two Parts may, which you deny, if neither do, then your whole Church goes by some other Rule) that which doth, upon that which you call the Catholique Grounds, me thinks should have obtained a definition for her, and the other, which resists that Principle, upon which they ought onely to build, should have been suddenly and absolutely condemned. This will appeare plainer, if we consider the opinions of your Church by the Actions of her Head, in a notable and late Example. A great controversie being risen between the *Dominicans* and the *Jesuites*, it was heard before Pope *Clement*, let us see then what course he took to find which Part held the Truth, since he was not likely (especially in a time wherein, by being more opposed then usually, he had reasons to be consequently more cautious) to chuse a new way, by which truth was not wont to be found out by your side upon like occasions; Did he send for the wisest and best men from all, nay from adjoining Parts, to enquire of them what they had been taught by their Fathers, to have been received by them uninterruptedly from the Apostles & did

did he examine with which of them the first and purest ages sided? did he consider which opinion would make us have the more excellent conceit of God, and work most towards the expelling of Vice? None of all these were his course, but he appointed both sides, to prove which of them followed Saint *Austine*, and according to them, he intended to give sentence, if the advice of Cardinall *Perron* had not prevailed to the contrary: But many days they spent in examining what he thought, who thought so variously concerning it, that he scarce knew himself which, whereas before him all the Ancients that I could ever meet with, were with the Iesuites with an Vnanimous consent, and by them (if they must be tried by men as fallible as themselves) it would have better agreed with their own Principles to have had both Parts judged.

After the Pope, let us hear Bishop, and almost Cardinall Fisher, who being one of your own Authors and Martyrs, cannot be thought to prævaricate against that Church, for whose defence he employed not onely his Inke, but his Blood.

His words are these,

There are many things of which was no enquire in the Primitive Church, which yet upon doubts arising, are now become perspicuous, by the diligence of after-times. And that you may see, that he speaks of points of Faith, He adds,

No Orthodox man now doubts, whether there be a Purgatory, of which yet among the Ancients there is no mention, or exceeding rarely: It is not believed
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Pag. 496.

by the Greeks to this day---Neither did the Latines conceive this Truth at once, but by little and little.

And for an Epiphonema he closeth it thus,

Page 497.

Considering that Purgatory was a good while unknown; after, partly by Revelations, partly by Scripture came little by little to be believed by some, and so at last the believe of it was generally received by the Catholique Churches---Who can wonder concerning Indulgencies, that in the Primitive Church there was no use of them? Indulgences therefore began, after men had trembled a while at the Torments of Purgatory.

See I pray how will you two agree? You say the Church of Rome receives, but what she claimes to be come down to her from the Apostles without interruption: He saith some of her Doctrines were long unknown, and came in by Revelations and Scripture; you say new Doctrines cannot come into a Church that holds this Principle: He saith, Doctrines have come in by little and little: So either she held not allwaies this Principle, or for all that they might come in: To be short, all, which he hath said, seems to me, as if he had purposely intended to frame a Ram to batter down that fortification, which you have built about the Roman Church.

Now though he be of so great an Authority that he needs no backing, yet I will desire you to look into *Alphonfus de Castro*, where he speaks of Indulgences, and see if he mend the matter. He confesseth, that the use of them seems to be late received

ceived into the Church, yet would not have them
contemned; because many things are known to
after-commers, of which those ancient Writers
were wholly ignorant. Amongst whom there is rarely
mention of *Transubstantiation*, more rarely of the
Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, of
Purgatory almost none; For though he speaks af-
ter as if he meant onely that the names of these
were unmentioned, and not the things, yet it is
plaine, that if he brought them in to any purpose,
it was to prove, that some Doctrines are after of
necessity to be believed, which once were not,
and Doctrines consist in the Things, not in the
Name.

I could next tell you of *Erasmus* his saying,
*Res deducta est ad Sophisticas contentiones, & Artic-
ulorum Miriades proruperunt.* Religion is come down
to Sophistry, and a Miriad of Articles are broken
out. But knowing that his words will not find so
much respect, (because he himself finds little
favour) as those of others more allowed among
you, let us mark these words of *Sancta Clara*,
The Church, when it is said to define any thing,
she rests not upon any new Revelations, but upon
the ancient, lying hid in writings and words of the
Apostles; which he saies not as his private opi-
on, but the constant belief of Doctors: By which
it appears plainly, that there are at least interpre-
tations of what the Apostles taught, drawn forth
by Reason, not received by Tradition; which
makes now a part of the present *Roman* Religion,
a sufficient Gappe for Errors to enter at, when
either

Epist. Pag.
1164.

Pag. 296.
1 Edit.

Tem. 13.
Pag. 467

either mistakings, or ends may become new opinions, and stile them but interpretations of the old. *Salmeron* a Voluminous Jesuite, one, neither by his order, nor his inclination an enemy at all to the *Roman Church*, being press'd by the opinions of the Ancients, affirms, *Doctores quod juniores, eo perspicaciores esse*, That the more modern Doctors are, the more perspicacious, that *per incrementa Temporum nota facta sunt Divina mysteria, quae tamen antea multos latuerunt*: In proceſſe of time Divine Myſteries have been made known, which before lay hid from many; That it is infirm arguing from Authority, and answers to the multitude of them, who in times paſt had opposed him; with these words of *Exodus*, That the opinion of many is not to be followed, leading us out of the way, with some other very Anabaptisticall answers, and very contrary to your Tenets, (for sure it were a strange Tradition, which had so many Orthodox Opposers) and nothing inferiour to that saying of *Zwinglius*, so much exaggerated, *Quid mihi cum Patribus, potius quam cum Matribus* &c.

The same Author in same place saies, that Saint *Hierome* durst not affirm the Assumption, but Saint *Austine* durst; and by that meanes, the Church perswaded by his reason believes it. Such a notable Tradition have all her opinions; for even this affirmation, which he confesseth, brought in this believe, is it self not now believed to be Saint *Austines*, for I take it, he must mean his tract of the Assumption, counted not his, by your own Divinity-Criticks, the *Lovaine* Doctors, which have
set

set it forth at *Cullen*.

And because I am willing to spend no more time in the proove of so apparent a Truth, I will not urge *Pesa*, who, to perswade the defining of an opinion, which hath a great current of the Ancients against it, (so farr it is from having any Tradition for it) reckons many other opinions condemned by your Church, and defended by the Ancients, unlesse you will believe his impudent Assertion, that they are all corrupted, and will passe to the Conclusion of this, which shall have for a Corollary, the Confession of a *Spanish* Archbishop, who is to be thought to speak with more authority then his own, because being employed to bring that to passe, which was desired by so great a Part of your Church, he can scarce be supposed not to have had the advice and consent of many of them in what he says.

In Elucidar
Deipara Pag.
1113.

He then tells us, First, every Age either brings forth, or opens her Truth: Things are done in their times, and severall Doctrines are unlockt in severall Ages.

Wadd.
Pag. 125.

Secondly, To shew that though his opinion had no such Tradition as you say your Church claimes for all her Doctrines, yet it may, and ought to be defined; he desires to know who ever taught the Assumption of the Virgin, before Saint *Austines* and *Hieromes* time, and by whom was that opinion deduct from the Apostles: Nay, he absolutely affirms, that before *Naxianzene*, no man ever taught any thing of her delivery without paine; yet many thought the contrary.

Pag. 270

Q

Thirdly

Pag. 201.

Thirdly and lastly, For your absolute confutation, he confesseth, that we believe and hold in this Age many things for Mysteries of Faith, which in former Ages did waver under small or no Probability, and many Things are now defined for Articles of Faith, which have endured a hard repulse among the most and the weightiest of the Ancient Doctors, and no light contradiction among the Ancient Fathers; and having reckoned up five Particulars,

The Validity of Hereticks Baptisme,

The Beatificall Vision before the day of Judgement,

The Spirituality of Angels,

The Soules being immediately created, and not ex tra du ce,

And, The Virgins being free from all actual Sinne:

Pag. 203.

He shuts it up thus, Many of these kinds of Opinions there are, which sometimes declined to one Part, sometimes to the other, and had contrary Favourers, according to severall times, untill a diligent and long disquisition being pramitted, the Truth was manifested either by Pope, or Provinciall, or generall Councils, nay, and saies that the disquisition is made by conferring of Places of Scripture and Reason, which is the way which you dislike.

Pag. 204.

These things considered, whosoever shall after say, that your Church claimes all her Doctrines to have come by a Verball and constant Tradition to her from the Apostles, I will not say that he is
very

very impudent, but I cannot think that a small matter will put him out of countenance; for your part, I esteeme you so much, that I am confident you have not so little Nose as not to find the contrary, nor so little Forehead as not to confesse it, having received the Affidavit of such a cloud of Witnesses.

Whosoever pretend Christ his Truth against her, saith, that true it is, she had once had the true way, but by length of times she is fallen into grosse Errors, which they will reform, not by any Truth which they have received from hand to hand from those, who by both Parts are acknowledged to have received their lesson from Christ, and his Apostles, but by Arguments, either out of Ancient Writers, or the secrets of Reason.

Object.

This is no farther true then as it concernes the Protestants, for the Greek Church will not suffer your proposition to be generall, but forbid the Banes.

Resp.

They pretend not to have made any Reformation, but to have kept ever since the Apostles, what from them was receivd: Barlaam saies, they do σώας ἡ ὁλοκληρως τὰς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδόσεις φυλάττειν, keep safe and whole the Tradition of the Catholique Church, nay, he proves his to be the sound Part, because by them ἡ δὲ ἑκκλησία τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδόσεις νεύουσιν, περιμαρτυροῦν, Nothing was ever more esteemed then her Tradition: And he objects it to your Church that she doth τὰς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδοτέιν, ἡ τωτὸς οἱ ἱεροὶ δόκοντες ἐν αὐτῇ, ἡ ἀλλότρια ἀντιτάττειν δόγματι, disanall the Tradition of the Catholique Church, and setting them at

naught, bring in strange and undenizon'd opinions : And that *Greeke*, who is joyned to *Nilus*, and *Barlaam* in *Salmatius* his Edition disputing against a Cardinall, chargeth you, that you do
 τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ πατέρων παραδύσει ὡς πείρου ζήτησι,
 sow Tares among the Tradition of the Apostles and Fathers : if when they make this claime they either say so, and think not so, or think so, and erre, then this proves, that though the *Roman* Church did make that claime which you say she doth, yet she too might either claime it against her Conscience, or against Truth : For this claime of the last cannot be denyed but by him, who will imitate that *Hamshire* Clown, of whom you give me warning, and believe no more then he sees himself, especially since your own Authors, when they dispute for Traditions, prove their authority from this profession of the *Greekes* : but I cannot blame you to forget them, (if we would suffer you) since they cannot be remembred but by your Religions disadvantage; For I verily believe, that if they had but one Addition which they want, (I mean Riches) not onely most of them would leave the Protestants, would sooner go to them then to you, (unlesse they would take their Religion as we take Boates, for being the Next) but money among you, who (though they dislike your pretended Infallibility, that the Popes usurpations upon the rights of other Bishops, his (not ancient) claime of power to deliver Soules out of Purgatory, &c. And yet are frighted from joyning with the Protestants, by want of Succession,

sion, Vocation, and such like Bull-beggars) would goe over to them (as I have heard *Spalato* meant to doe) if they were not kept, by an unwillingnesse to change the spirituall tyrannie of the Pope, for the temporall of the *Turke*.

But (although there were no such Churches, or they made no such claime, yet having shew'd out of your own Authors, that some opinions have not been constantly delivered by Tradition, but have entered into the Church upon the grounds (which might at least possiblie deceive them) of Scripture, Reason, and Revelation, and others knockt apace to be let in) I hope we may be excused for making a reveiw of all, and examining what doctrines have been brought in, if not by Scripture (which we think reasonable) at least by comparing what this age teacheth and requires, with what the first Ages did; to which we are encourag'd by your selves, who make agreement with Antiquitie, the chief mark of the Church, unlesse you meane your selves to be onelie Judges, even of those things by which you bid us to judge you: For our examinations by reason, I cannot tell why you mislike it, since those who trust their own reason least, trust it yet to chuse for them one whom they may trust, against which, all Arguments drawn from her fallibilitie without question lie. Your Religion is built upon your Church, her authoritie upon reasons, which we think slight and fallacious, and your selves think but prudentiall and probable; ought we not then, nay, must we not examine them by Reason,

Q 3

son, or receive them upon your word? And allowing them probable reason, yet I have still cause to examine further, whether your superstructions be not more unreasonable then your foundations are reasonable, for then I cannot receive a more unprobable doctrine, then that is probable, which it is prov'd by: Yet (in respect of things appearing dryers, at divers times) I doe not like my own way so well, as to esteem it absolutelie infallible, but though I keep it, because I account it the best, yet I will promise to leave it, when you can shew me a better, which will be hard to doe, because you cannot prove it to be better but by reason, against which prooffe (and consequentlie against whatsoever it proves) your own Objections remaine; For to be perswaded by reason, that to such an authoritie I ought to submit it, is still to follow reason, and not to quit her. And by what else is it, that you examine what the Apostles taught, when you examine that by ancient Tradition, and ancient Tradition by a present Testimonie? Yet when I speake thus of finding the Truth by Reason, I intend not to exclude the Grace of God, which I doubt not (for as much as is necessarie to Salvation) is readie to concurre to our Instruction, as the Sunne is to our sight, if we by a wilfull winking chuse not to make, not it, but our selves guilty of our blindnesse: Indeed if we love darknesse better then light, and instead of esteeming it, shut it out, it were but just in God, if we so continue long hardened, not to suffer it to see after when we

we would, since so obstinatelie we would not when we might, like to that which happened to those Englishmen, of whom *Froissard* speaks, who having long bound up an eye, and made a foolish vow, never to see with that till they could see their Mistresses, when they returned, and unbound them, they saw nothing, but that they could not see.

Yet when I speake of Gods grace, I mean not, that it infuseth a knowledge without reason, but workes by it, as by its Minister, and dispels those Mists of Passions, which doe wrap up Truth from our Understandings. For if you speake of its instructing any other way, though I confesse it is possible (as God may give us a sixth sense) yet it is not ordinarie, and ought not to be brought to dispute, because so we leave visible Arguments to slide into invisible, and your Adversarie, when he hath found your play, will be soon at the same locke, and I beleevv in this sense, infus'd Faith is but the same thing, otherwise apparell'd, which you have so often laught at in the *Puritans*, under the title of private Spirit.

This being supposed, either this Principle hath remain'd unto her ever since her beginning, or she took it up in some one Age of the sixteenth, if she took it up, she then thought, she had nothing in her, but what she had receiv'd from her fore-fathers, and if she thought so, she knew it.

This Principle is not yet taken up by her, and suppose it were, yet since some other opinions are confess'd to have been receiv'd by her, not from

Object.

Resp.

a constant Tradition, but Scripture, and Revelations, and not at once, but by little and little, this very Principle of receiving nothing but from Tradition, might it selfe have been receiv'd not from Tradition: nor need it have been in any one Age of the sixteen, but some might have taught it in one Age, more in another, and all at last, and this so farre from being an impossibilitie, that it were no wonder.

Object.

Let us adde, that the multitude of this Church is so disperſed through ſo many Countries, and Languages, that it is impoſſible they ſhould agree together upon a falſe Determination, to affirme with one conſent a Falſity for Truth, no Intereſt being able to be common to them all, to produce ſuch an effect.

Reſp.

Although ſo many Countries could not ſo well agree upon it at once, yet ſome might ſo perſwade others, that in time and by degrees the diſeaſe may be grown epidemically: And trulie, conſidering in everie Countrey how few there are, who thinke of Religion at all, or of them againe, who walke in it by the directions of their owne eyes, even of them who take upon them to ſhew that way to others; but for the moſt part (which they did much more in more ignorant times, when *Scriptura ſacra cum vetuſtis authoribus frigeſcit*) are lead by ſome few, whom they reverence for their Pietie and learning, *ὧν λόγος ἀκρίβης ἐσθλα μὲν ἐστὶν ὡς νόμος*, whoſe words are accounted lawes, and they againe by a *Thomas*, or a *Scot*, or at beſt by *Auſtine*, or *Hierome*, and thinke it Tradition enough

enough to have it from them (for else why thinke they to beare us downe with the Authoritie of one or two Fathers, if they thinke that not ground enough to goe upon themselves) it seemes little stranger to me, that whole Countries should let in not ancient opinions, then that a few should, since a few in all places have ever govern'd all the rest; of this I will bring two very known examples out of the Ecclesiasticall Historie.

The first is of *Valens* the Emperour, who, being himselfe an *Arrian*, and making peace with a Nation which was not so, and supposing that they would never have firme concord with him, to whom in Faith he was so opposite, was advised to perswade their Bishop to change his beleife, for which end having employ'd both words and money, and effected it, the Bishop, directlie contrarie to *Saint Peter*, being himselfe weakened, weakened his brethren, who yelded to communicate with the *Arrians* (which before they abhorr'd from) and to esteeme the Father greater then the Sonne.

Theodoret
lib 4.

The second, is of that *Macedonian* Bishop, who, being persecuted by the Catholique Bishop of the same place (who was then gone to *Constantinople* to fetch Souldiers, by whose assistance he might afflict the Hereticks the more) resolved to turne Catholicke, and perswaded all his followers to joyne with him in that Act, and this in so short a time, that when the other returned, he found him chosen Bishop unanimoously by both Parties, and himselfe (for his crueltie,

R

not

not undeservedlie) excluded.

There is besides another thing which helps to lett in great errors, which is, that men naturally neglect small things; and small things in time naturally beget great; for which cause *Aristotle* shewing to us severall causes of the Changes of Government, one of them is *δια τὸ παρ' μικρον*, adding, that *πολλὰς ἀνδρῶν μνηστὴν μνηστέον μεταβάσις ἢ νομίσμων, ὅταν παρ' ὧσι τὸ μικρον*, often a great change comes stealingly in, when what is little is not considered.

Yet besides the generall carelesse; The Authority of the Teachers, the Flexibility of the Taught; and the smallness of the Things themselves at the beginning, even Interest it selfe (which consists of two Parts, Feares, and Hopes) is able to produce great effects: Of this me thinkes your selves may be witnesses, who use to call ours, a *Parliamentary Religion*, as thinking, that the Will of the Prince, and both Houses, onely made it to be received: Whereas in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* Raigne, of many thousand Livings which were in *England*, the Incumbents of not a hundred, chose rather to lose their Benefices for your opinions, then to keepe them by subscribing to ours; all who (for the greatest Part) of necessity must be supposed for private interest; to have dissembled their Religion, either then or immediately before.

Secondly, In the Third Booke of *Evagrius* we find, that above five hundred Bishops subscribed against the Councell of *Calcedon*, which we have reason to think most did unwillingly, (especially

cially if the Infallibility of a generall Council^l were so famous a Doctrin for Catholiques as now it is) because we know it was upon *Basiliscus* his commands , and that a considerable Part of them (the Bishops of *Asia*) profess'd after they were forc't to it, though before they had been very angry in another Epistle with those , who said that they had done by force, rather then Free-will.

And over, and above all this we may see by *Erasmus* his words, that many might not oppose a Doctrin brought in by great Power, in hope of a time to do it in, when there might be more likelihood of prevailing : For he saith in one place of his Epistles , that those who resist opinions, when there is no probable meanes of doing good by it, are like those, who out of season attempt to break Prison , who gaines nothing by it , but to have their Irons doubled upon them : And the same cause which he thinks should move them to stay (outwardly) contentedly in Prison, may have made many others not resist , when they were first by violence and crowd carried thither, who might feare least their opposall might not help their cause, but beget a definition against it. And there being thus many severall motives which may work upon so many severall kindes of men , it is no wonder, if an error may soon over-runne all men, or seem to do so.

Next, Whereas you speak of severall Countries , and Languages, I must desire you to remember, that the Clergy of your Church are as it were all of one Language, (*Latine* either being, or

being supposed to be; as much theirs, as that of their own People) and being under the Dominion of one, that is the Pope, which makes them as it were one Country, and from them the Laity receive all their opinions: Nay in ancient times almost all considerable men spoke the Language of the governing Nation, (as all of the better sort of the *Irish* do *English*) and the greatest part of Christians were governed by one man, the Emperour, and so a new opinion may easily have been received generally, no such barres being set up to hinder it, as you alleadge.

Object.

Christian Doctrine is not a speculative knowledge instituted for delight, but it is an Art of living; a Rule of attaining to eternall blisse; hence it followeth, that no error can fall, even in a point which seemeth wholly speculative in Christian Faith, but soon it breedeth a Practicall effect; or rather defection in Christian behaviour.

Resp.

I wonder much to heare you say this, who certainly have a Religion consisting of many points, which are no wayes reduced into Practice: Especially from the degrees in which they are held, (which I conceive introduced) could arise no change in Christian behaviour; I confesse that Christian Religion being a Covenant between God, and Man by the intermise of Christ, we Christians are properly concerned, but in the knowledge of what are the Conditions and Reward proposed and promised, what wee are to observe, and what to hope for; and in so farre forth understanding the Nature and Attributes

of

of the Covenant-maker and bringer, as we may be made sure, that whatsoever God hath promised or threatened, that indeed he hath: But though this principally concernes us, yet the necessity of beleeving the veracity of God, obligeth us moreover to give our Assents to any thing, how little soever it have to doe with practise (as Saint Pauls having Parchments) if it be once made to appeare to us either by Scripture-reason, Tradition, or any way to have been said by God either immediately, or mediately by Christ and his Apostles: And do not your selves count the *Greekes* Heretickes for denying the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, (though many Fathers deny it too) though, I pray, what hath that to do with Practice or Christian behaviour, and if you should now change your opinion in this point, what outward change would it breed, except onely the blotting out of one clause in a Creed in your Liturgy, wherein it was not at first? And not so much outward change would there be, if you should turne to believe *Enoch* and *Elias*, not be still alive, the contrary to which *Belarmine* saies all *Catholiques* hold now with a certaine Faith: And many more are of this kind.

Cap. 6 Lib. 3
de Romano
Pontifice,

Object.

Whether man have Free-will or no, seemeth a Question belonging to some curious Philosopher; but upon the Preaching of the Negative part, presently followed an unknown Libertinage, men yielding themselves over to all kind of Concupiscence, since they were perswaded they had no power to resist, Free-

Resp.

will being taken away.

At this time it is not my own cause which I plead, *Ἐν ταύτῃ αἰ ἐκ τῆς ἰδιοῦσας αἰτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερασθενέων*, since in this point I confesse, I should rather be a *Pelagian*, then a *Calvinist*, since the first doth not wholly overthrow Gods grace, (for whatever we have by Nature, His grace gives us) but the second wholly overthrowes His justice, besides the direct contrariety of their Doctrine to Scripture, they saying in effect, that the Kingdome of Heaven is to take us by violence, whereas that teaches us, that we are to take it so : But yet give me leave to say thus much for them, that though it be true, that ill life followes very consequently from that Principle, and those who hold it, must be ill *Logicians*, if they be good men, yet it is plaine, that very many of them live as good lives, as any who believe the contrary.

Besides, this in my opinion concernes as neerely your *Dominicans*, as our *Calvinists*, since they use Free-will, as *Tully* saith *Epicurus* did the Gods, *verbis asserunt, re negant*, assert it in words, but deny it in deed; yet I think you will not say that they are the more licentious, for (by direct consequence) denying Liberty; If therefore an opinion, which is so neerely tyed to action, produce no more effects, how much fewer would those other so much more unconcerning Tenets bring forth?

Object.

I need not instance in Prayer to Saints, worshipping Images, Prayer for the Dead &c. which it is evident could not be changed without an apparent change.

change in Christian Churches.

Without change (which though it must be then apparent, yet need it not be so to us) I confesse they could not come in; but with little opposition they might: The doubtfull estate of the dead after this life, before the day of *Judgment-audit*, being much better that they should have our Prayers, though they want them not, then misse of them if they want them, may not unlikely (and peradventure not unreasonably) have brought in that Custome without either giving scandale, or being received by Tradition; Though if it had, you would have gotten little by it, for unlesse such a Purgatory, out of which Indulgences may deliver, will follow out of it, the Pope will not care for the other, as being *ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλυσιν*, nothing to profit: And though he did establish a Purgatory, yet it might be one after the Resurrection, for such a one, more then one Father speakes off: But it need establish none, (no not any third place, which is lesse) for the Prayers might be first intended for the encrease of the happinesse of the Blessed, and relaxation of the torment of the Cursed, which latter effect, that the Prayers for the dead have, is said by *Prudentius*, and confess'd to have been said, both by him, and others; by your own *Heroe*, Cardinall *Perrou*.

Of the worship of Images I shall speake hereafter.

Praying to Saints may have come in upon consequences drawne out of mistaken places of Scriptures, or others, which inducing the opinion, that

Resp.

*Lib. Con. Reg.
Iac. Pag. 892.*

that they enjoy'd the beatificall vision before the day of judgement, some might conclude, that then they saw all in it, and at first pray to them but conditionallie, till their number increased, and with it the degree in which they held the opinion, till now to deny it is accounted Heresie, though I know no Father which justifies our invoking of them (although they speake of their interceding for us) before *Nazianzene*, whose example alone being of so great authoritie might spread it much: though, I pray, remember, who (as saies *Nicephorus Calistus*) it was that brought it first into the publick Liturgie.

Object.

It is not possible, that any materiall point of Christian Faith can be changed, as it were, by obreption, whilst men are on sleep, but it must needs raise a great scandall, and tumult: For suppose the Apostles had taught the world it were Idolatry to pray to Saints, or use reverence to their Pictures, how can we imaginethis honour brought in but by a vehement conflict, and tumult in a people, which did so greatly abhorre Idolatry, as the Apostles and Disciples did.

Resp.

Ἀπὸς ἀνθρώπων οὐδ' ἀμπερὺν τοιοῦτον: I spoke cheiflie, not of changing a point of Faith, but of creating one, not of contradicting a doctrine delivered from the Apostles, but of introducing one, of which they were wholly silent, either as theirs at first (as yee must say *Pappias* did) or onely as True, till being rooted and spread, it be beleev'd Apostolicall upon *Tertullian's* Argument, that else how could so many Churches, *errare in unam fidem,*

fidem, erre into the same beleife, which (because lesse time had then been allowed error to disperse it selfe in) was then, though no concluding prooffe, yet a better then it was the next Age, and so still grew the worse for the wearing, till now it is worth just nothing.

But as *Himerius* saith, *ἴδον ἀπαλογεῖσθαι αἰεὶ ὅτι ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου*, I say, tis most easie to answer that which is not imputed, for I am so farre from saying that the Apostles taught these two things to be Idolatrie (since on my Conscience they spake not of them directlie at all) that I my selfe will not say they are. For Prayer to Saints (set aside your Idolatrie-like Expressions, seeming to beg that of them, which you professe, you meane onely to have them beg for you) I suppose the Question to be but this, whether they heare us or no (which Martyrs might possiblie doe, and yet no other, how holy and canoniz'd soever, because many Fathers held that none else see God yet) If they doe, I beleeve you may as well (or better, because you are more sure of their being in favour with God) desire them to intercede for you, as you may desire the Prayers of any living Friend, but if they doe not, then I will not say in *Chrysostomes* phrase, *πῶς ἐν ἀξία ταῦτα σκεπάζων*, what Thunder-bolts doth it not deserve, but how unreasonable is it to cast men out of the Church, and send them out of the world, for not assenting to an opinion, which you cannot prove.

For reverence to the Pictures of Saints, if you

meane onely some outward civill respect, to testifie the great honour and love which you beare the Prototypes, It is, I beleeve, no more Idolatrie, then keeping off our hats in the Presence-Chamber to the Cloth of Estate.

Tersul.

*De fide &
Symb.*

Yet this I am so farre from esteeming necessarie, that I thinke they had better never come in, then have occasion'd so much un-christian turmoile about so indifferent a thing. The first and purest Ages did well enough without these Pictures (we heare onely of a Parabolical one of Christ in a Chalice) after they came to be made, after to be set in Churches, after to be prayed before, nay, at last they are come to so great an excesse, that not onely against Scripture, but all Antiquitie, they are now come to picture God the Father himselfe: Upon a Popes Letter to an Emperour, wherein he defends the picturing of Saints and Christ, and speaks improbable of the Antiquitie of their Pictures, and addes the reason why they pictured not God the Father, *Baronius* saies in the Margent. Yet it hath after happened, that they pictured him as he hath appeared; a way which the Church of that time could easily have found out, had they thought it lawfull, as it is plaine *Saint Austine* did not, unlesse *Nefas est* be an Approbation: This alone may serve to shew that beleifes may come in, even contrarie to that of former time (and yet we not know when they entered) unlesse you will oppose a superficiall reason, that a thing cannot beto a plaine example that it is, and force me to answer with *Barlaam*,

νεκρὸν βλέπω, λέγεις μοι ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἀποθανεῖν, you tell me, it is impossible for him to die, whose Corse I look upon.

We remember in a manner as yet, how change came into Germanie, France, Scotland, and our own Country, let these be a signe to us, what we may think can be the creeping in of false doctrine.

Object.

This is but a continuance of the same Paralogisme: For at this time, in these places, a settled Religion being contradicted, the case is very different from an Opinions prevailing in the mindes of men, when they were yet white Paper, and not filled with any doctrine to the contrarie, either because though once the contrarie had been taught, yet it had slept a good while, or because nothing had before been spoken concerning it: We know, that nothing makes Noise but Opposition and Resistance, and if that be not much, it will not last long, and the memorie of it as little: Besides most of these points making for the power and wealth of the Clergie, you must not expect, that there should have been as great an out-crie and hubbub when they were introduced at first, as when expelled after long prevailing, it being a worke, both more short, easie, and secret to plant an Acorne, then to cut down or remove an Oake (*χρειότερον γὰρ κρηίδιον μεταφυτεύειν*) although those men which governe the rest, were not in this case so much interested.

Resp.

There is no point of doctrine contrary to the Catholicke Church rooted in any Christian Nation, that the Ecclesiasticall History doth not mention, the times

Object.

and

and combats, by which it entered, and tore the Church in peices.

Resp.

The combats wherein it tore the Church, peradventure it doth, but of the times wherein many entered, they are altogether silent. All take notice of *Arrius* his words, when by reason of *Alexander's* hot opposition there grew divisions, but of what the Orthodox-counted Authors (which we have) before the Councell of *Nice* said (though aske *Perron*, and he will tell you, how like *Arrianisme* they look) no Ecclesiasticall Historie makes any mention, because they made no bounce like the other, and so in likelihood tooke no more notice of other opinions, which made none neither. And what is said of this point, may be said of *Eutychianisme* (see the same place of *Perron*) for we know how *Dioscorus* called upon the Fathers of the *Pelagians*, and others, whose opinions were certainlie in the Church before them, who are now counted the Authors of them.

Nay, even of opinions rooted (as you call it) are not the Proceffion of the Holy Ghost from the the Father onely, the communicating Infants, the admitting none to the Beatificall Vision but Martyrs, and other such rooted in the Greeke Church: or can yon tell when they entered: at least was it not long before any combat concerning them: But suppose this weretrue, it is but accidentally so, for some of those writings which deliver this to us, might as well have been lost, as many others which were, so that no man can conclud that, of what-
soever,

ever no beginning can be shewed in Ecclesiastical story, that hath not been introduced, (especially since I speak not so much of opinions opposing the Ancient Tradition, as of Superfæuations, not onely of pointes indeed Materiall, but of such as in continuance of time, have grown to be thought so) for how can I tell, many of them having been lost, but some of those would have given me notice of it, if I now had them.

Let it therefore remaine for evidently constant, that into the Christian Church can come no Errors, but it must be seen and noted, and raise scandale and opposition.

Object.

Here Sir not onely *αὐτὸ ἔστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἡ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἡ ἀληθὴς πίστις*, you resolve upon a Truth of a conclusion before you have proved the Premisses; but even that is such a one as followes not out of them, although they were granted: For how followes it, that because all heretofore have been noted, therefore all at all times must be so, nay, that though at the comming in they found scandale and opposition, we necessarily (many centuries after) must know they did so. For the knowledge, which we have of these things, is but *Reliquia Danaum*, what was overseen by the zeale and negligence, and how much we want of what we might have known, had the rest scap'd, no man can tell who pretends not to Revelation, and to the ability of knowing what was in Books, whereof he never saw any, and never heard of most: But though it followes not, such a thing hath been done, therefore it must ever be, yet it followes (in spite of the

Resp.

the most severe exception) such a thing hath been done, therefore it may be; As for example, since *Valentinian* the Emperour bringing in so contrary to Christian Religion, as you will confesse *Polygamy* to be, and establishing it with a law which allowed it, and yet those who tels us both of his actions and his Edict, speaking no rittle of any opposition which was made to it, but he ever accounted a very good and pious Emperour, and his Son by his second wife (his first still living, and undivorced from him) being esteemed Legitimate, and succeeding him in a part of his Empire; think you whether his authority could not have drawn the Principall men, (and inclusively the rest to subscribe almost any opinion, who could keep them from opposing such an Act, or such a Law: And if though this be now counted unlawfull, yet we find not, that either any Bishop advised him against it, or excommunicated him for it, or indeed any man disliked it: If any false opinion backt by great Power, have been not onely (like this) introduced, but spread and settled, how unlikely is it that we should now know what scandals it raised, supposing it raised any.

Object.

As in our Naturall Body, the Principall parts are defended by bones, flesh, skins, and other defences, that no outward Agent can come to offend there, before having annoyed some of these; so in the Catholique Faith, there are in speculations, those which we call Theologicall Conclusions, and other pious opinions, and in practice, many rights and ceremonies, which stoppe the Passage unto the maine Principall Parts

Parts of Christian beliefe, and Actions.

Either these Theologicall conclusions, and pious opinions are derived from the same Tradition, or they are not; if they be, then sure they are equally matters of Faith, and so need some other course to defend them, and you must find *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes*: If they be not, but were onely Deductions either of the first Ages Logick, (which was not alwaies excellent) or of that of more Modern times, then may they so easily be false themselves, that I know not how they can serve to preserve the rest certainly from all corruption indeed to secure any Truth: But I believe many may be miscounted Hereticks, for onely opposing some of these, what through the over-caution, and too much ardor of some *Primum mobile*, and of the greater part lead by a few such, what through their being come (having been long) from pious opinions, to be matters of Faith, as in great Families Servants, who haue waited long in meaner places, are rewarded with higher: Besides I verily believe, that many Doctrines, which you account necessary, have no such redoubts about them, or at least have not alwaies had, and indeed you onely affirming it by *Tullies Rule*, (who was no small Master of Reason) *Sat erit verbo negare*, It will be enough for me baredie to deny it. And for Rites and Ceremonies which you suppose guard your Doctrines, (many used among the Ancients being now in use amonst you) either some Tenets, which those did guard, and they did hold, yee hold not; or if you do still, at least they are now unguarded.

But

Resp.

But still, I speaking most of the easinesse, that false and new Doctrines not contradicting the old, may be brought into the Church, what answer is it to tell me, how the Principall of Christian Religion are sure guarded, since so they may be, and yet such other may be brought in: As Christs Promises, and chiefe injunctions may be retained, and yet praying to Saints, and Purgatory, and such like, be superinduct.

Object.

Let any discrete man consider, what further evidence he can desire, or peradventure what greater assurance Nature can afford.

Resp.

Sir, I wish you so well that I cannot but give you warning, that this saying of yours doth *Sapere Haresin*, since it seemes as if you disclaimed any absolute Infallibility, and pretend onely to grounds of most possibility, which the Protestants doing too, use yet to be accused for making nothing certaine, and having no firm foundation to build any thing upon: But as you claime lesse, then by your own Rules you should, so you claim still more, then either you are able to prove, or we likely to grant.

Object.

The Philosophers say, it is indisciplinati ingenii, to expect in any Science more exactnesse then the Nature of it affords.

Resp.

I confesse this to be true, but I desire you also to remember, that as it is absurd to expect as exact a proof in the Politicks, as in Geometry, so it is absurd to expect as high a degree of Assent to the first, as to the second of my objections, being intended against those, who will be infallibly believed to be infallible upon probable grounds, for they

they themselves give them no higher a Title, and indeed that it self in my opinion, is more then they deserve.

What shall we expect then in Religion, to see a main advantage on the one Party we cast our selves upon.

Object.

Resp.

Truely such Advantage on your part I cannot see: Neither if I did, could I in reason joyn with you. A maine advantage it is to have more Truth then any other Society of Christians, but supposing you had so (which is but a supposition, for I verily believe, if the Question were but, who had most Title to so much, yee would appear to a dispassionate man, *ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος*, Neither third nor fourth, according to the answer of the Ancient Oracle) yet you withall require, not onely that I should believe you erre in nothing, but that you never can, and then I had rather remaine in their communion, I say not, who themselves erred not, but whose conditions of Communion were lesse rigorous, and exacted not of me to profess they could not erre, when I believe they do. And if you answer, that it would necessarily follow, that if they had fewest errors, they must have none, because some society of Christians must be allwaies free from all this; I shall absolutely deny, and the more earnestly, because I know this is a trappe, wherein many have been caught, who taking this for granted, have examined the Doctrines of the most known Churches of Protestants, and finding (as they thought, and peradventure truely) some errors in them, some Doctrines no way to be proved but upon Popish grounds, and by that justifying

fying those, and some imputations imposed upon
 their Adversaries, wherein their Tenets, or the
 consequences from them were mistaken, they then
 by the Doggs Logick have run over, without smel-
 ling to the Church of *Rome*, as knowing no other
 Society but these, and being præpossest, that one of
 necessity must be free from all error: Whereas
 for my part, as the ἐκλεκτοι, those who bound not
 themselves to believe absolutely the whole Doct-
 rines of any Sect, but pickt out what they thought
 accorded with reason, out of them all, were a wise
 sort of Philosophers, so they seem to me reasonable
 Divines, who speak Gods will as they did Truth,
 (for it is not to chuse by reason, and Scripture or
 Tradition received by Reason, which makes a
 Hereticke, but to chuse an opinion which will
 make most either for the chusers Lust, or Power
 and Fame, and then seeking waies how to entitle
 God to it) For since it would be a Miracle, if the
 Errors of the *Roman* Church being long gathering
 could have been all discovered in a Day, or if it
 had been possible for the first Reformers, (who
 having their eyes but newly open, it is not strange
 if (like the man in the Gospel) they saw at first
 men walking like Trees, and had but an imperfect
 apprehension of Truth, especially being in *Tullies*
state Quem fugio habeo, Quem sequar non habeo. I
 see whom to fly, but not whom to follow, not to
 have left some opinions untaught, which yet were
 errors, nor to have expurged others, which yet were
 none; I cannot see why we may, not in some points
 joyn with the one, and with others in other,
 and

and besides find some Truths which ly *in media ex parte*, well in the mid-way betweene the Parties, *ἀραιοῦντες ἐκείνων τὴν ὑπερφανίαν*, nay in some points differ wholly from both : Which Liberty, if it were generally allowed, and generally practised, if particular interests were trod wholly under foot, especially by the greatest, and if such spirits as those of *Cassander* and *Melancton* were more common, no considerable things would in a short time be left, but all would flow againe in the same Chanell, whereas this opinion, that allwaies one part erres not, is both prejudiciall to Truth, and the best Unity, which is, that of Charity, for it perswades them who have fewest errors, to believe those to be none, and to hate all opposers as Hereticks; and of this your Church is most guilty, which not onely affirms that there is such a one, but that she is it, and propheties as much of her selfe allwaies for the future, as she promiseth for the present, and upon this ground (like him who having won nineteene games at Tables, threw the Dice in the fire for not winning him the twentieth) though we should yeeld to her in all points but one, and that the least considerable, she would yet throw us into the fire as Hereticks, for dissenting from her in that.

You are bidden to put what yeare, or age, such an error entered, and it is evidently true, that then that yeare, or age, the Church conspired to tell a lie, and deceive their Posterity.

Object.

You would never be loved, if you were a Posser, and used to aske such hard questions, for either you must mean by [an opinion entering] when first

Resp.

any man possessed it, or when first by all in communion with your Church it was assented unto: If you mean the first, it is impossible to be answered, for if one should ask, who taught first that Christ was not begotten by God, before he was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*, (through his power and the over-shadowing of the Holy Ghost) one who knew little of Antiquity, would answer *Soci-nus*, a more learned Person would say *Photinus*, another *Paulus Samosatenus*, another might find before him, *Artemon* and another yet before him, *Theodorus* ~~ovrtus~~, (with whom curious Logicians, and great Readers of *Euclid*, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, and *Theophrastus* were joyned) and yet that he was the first we have no certainty, for if a little of *Eusebius* had been lost, *Theodorus*, and *Artemon* had not been now heard of, which may as well have happened to others before them, either by want of being taken notice of by an Historian, or by the losse of the History, and not onely is this so in this, but in all other points.

If you mean the second, (for so you must by your Inference, though the words of the Question will bear both senses) it is as impossible for you to receive an answer. For how shall I know when all it is granted? For suppose no Author to have been lost, and me to have read and remembred them all, yet (as in *England* when the *Calvinists* opinion prevailed most, as wise and learned men, as those who writ, though differing in opinion from the Authors, yet opposed them not so publicly, but that many might believe the more general

nerall Tenet to be received by all) how should I know that the opinions of the Authors of severall Ages, did agree with that of all equally wise and learned in the same times, for if there be no greater certaintie of the opinions of all of one Kingdome in our owne Age, think what Infallibilitie can we have concerning an absolute generall consent a thousand years agoe. And of this, *France* may as well be an example as *England*, wherein many called *Cassandrians*, dissent from the publicly received Doctrines, though with so little stir, that our Posterity will not know that there now are such; So that all which any man can answer to this Question, is, that such a one was the first that he knowes of, who taught such a Doctrine, and such a time the first, wherein he knowes not that any contradicted it, or that your Church defines it for a necessary opinion, and exacted assent to it, as a condition of their Communion; which answer will be nearer to Truth or Falshood, according to the measure of the answers learning; And indeed if you please to remember, that when learning rose againe, and the Reformation began, most *Manuscripts* of considerable Books, had long layn unreguarded by the generallity in Popish Libraries, and out of them onely had some few been Printed, you must confesse, that it was in the power of your Church, what answer we should be able to make to that Question which you propose, which then it is no wonder if it were not answered, for your willingness to keep men in darknesse concerning this,
even

even in times of most light, is to be seen by your expurgatory Indexes: For there, though you profess to meddle with none but Moderne Authors, (whereas it is plaine you go as high as *Bertram*) yet both that will serve to deceive our posterity concerning the generall opinions of these times, and if your Church in former Ages used any course somewhat Analogicall to this, upon those Authors who then were moderne too, (as likely enough they did, or you have cause to hope they did for your more justification) then how can I know when any opinion entered, that is, either first was at all, or first by all taught: since in all times (how little mention soever be made of it) there may have been some Doctors of that opinion, though either no Authors, or although Authors, yet by this Stratageme may be kept from us.

Neither indeed can you answer this Question your self, for you know not in what Year, or Age, did either the giving the *Eucharist* to Infants begin, or end, at least *Saint Austine* knew not the first, who believed it an Apostolical Tradition: Neither was this a bare Custome, but implied an opinion of good which Children received, which the change shewes plainly to have altered, and certainly either the first opinion was a Superstition, or the latter a Sacrilege.

But howsoever your Consequence follows not, for though your Church conspired, and deceived their Posterity, yet it might not conspire to deceive their Posterity, but to instruct it, being themselves deceived. And therefore when you reckon

reckon up the Motives which men have to speak false, I wonder to see Hopes, and Feares put in, and error left out.

It is Gods course deeplier to root and strengthen those things which he would have most flourish. Now Christians know, that he made mankind for his Elect, the world for mankind, and therefore he hath rooted those things, which more immediately belong to his Elect (as his Church, Faith, and Holy Spirit in it) then the principles either of mans nature or of the world, which was made for it, himselfe assuring us of it, when he told us, That one tittle should not perish of the holy Writ, though Heaven and Earth should be dissolved, and so seeing the latter principle relyeth upon the not failing of God to his Church, which should ever watch upon their actions, that nothing should creepe into Christian life, which presently the Zeale of the faithfull should not startle at. I thinke it needlesse, to seeke further to qualifie the strength of that part, which receiveth it from the quality of so good a workman as the Holy Ghost.

Object,

I must therefore observe, that this word [Church] hath so many significations even among your selves, that it seldome comes into the mouth of a *Romane* Arguer, but there comes withall, foure Terms into his Sillogisme, I could wish therefore, that you would still set downe your Definition of it, and put that (instead of the word Church) into what you say, least what your late *Gracian* Defender *Cariophilus* saies of Hereticks,

Resp.

ποτε τὰ ἡς καλῶν αἰνῆματα, ἰδὼν δὲ μάλιστα ὅσοι συμπά-
 ντι ἡ ἀρετικῶν, πάντες ἀσπαράσσοντες αἰματὶ καὶ ἀμφιβολοῖς,
 that they delight in doubtfull expressions, may
 seem more properly to belong to you: Cer-
 tainlie in some sence the Elect are Gods Church,
 and in that sence, the Church belongs not to his
 Elect, but is it, neither indeed know I (define it
 as you please) how it doth, since you confesse,
 that men may oppose any companie of men,
 whomsoever you will call the Church, without
 being obstinate, or consequentlie by heresie ex-
 cluded from Heaven; and so may, for all that, be
 elected. Neither indeed know I, how God
 hath made mankinde for his Elect: It is true;
 that having elected those who shall persevere in
 Faith and Obedience, and given man Free-will,
 which (joynd with Grace universallie offered)
 might bring him to the condition, and in that to
 election, and by that to Heaven; God may be said,
 to have made mankinde for his elect, that is, to
 be his elect, if they shut not themselves out of the
 way to be so; And all men (especiallie Christi-
 ans) I beleve have, and alwaies shall have meanes
 enough to performe these conditions, in such a
 measure (all things considered, I meane, either
 naturall defects, as in Ideots, never having heard
 of Christ, as in many Pagans, not having Christs
 will sufficientlie proposed, as in many Christians,
 and whosoever is not by some fault in his will
 hindered from assenting, to him it is not propo-
 sed sufficientlie) as shall by God be from them re-
 quired.

But

But this hinders not, but that all Christians may see what they should, if they stand not in their own light, or wilfullie winke, and if they neglect Christs Instructions or Commands, and make themselves deafe against his voice, charme he never so wiselie, they then may fall from necessarie Truths (much more from others) unto error, as well as from good life into wickednesse, from which, without question, Gods Spirit is as readie to keep men that will be kept, as from the other, and which is no lesse (if not more) part of the conditions required (for in that epitomie, which Christ hath given us of the day of judgement, men are onely mentioned to be punished for want of Charitie, and not mis-interpretations of doctrine) though I grieve to see so many of all parts (whereof I am too much one) live, as if God were so obliged to them for their Faith, that he were bound to winke upon their workes, and not to be an Idolater, or not a Heretick, were enough not to be damned.

And certai[n]lieto say, *That one tittle of Gods Word shall not passe away*, is not to say, that God will keepe here alwaies a knowne companie of men to teach us all Divine Truths, which from them, because of their authoritie, we may without more adoe accept (for unlesse you meane the Church in this sence, it concernes not our differences) till you can prove that this word makes some such promise. For this seemes to me onelie to shew the veracitie of Gods Word, without speaking at all of any Churches continuall obedience

V

dience to it, or true interpretation of it, or the impossibilitie of her receiving the Traditions of men for the will of God.

Besides in this Paragraph I observe three things:

The first, That you now draw your Arguments from the stedfast Truth of Holie Writ, whereas you neither quote out of it any thing to prove your maine Assertion, and in that way, which you laid before to finde out Truth by, you rooke no notice at all of Scripture, but would have all differences decided, by onely comparing what men had by verball Tradition, like that *Dominican*, of whom *Erasmus* tels us in his Epistles, that when in the Schooles any man refuted his conclusion; by shewing it contrarie to the words of Scripture, he would crie out, *Ista est Argumentatio Lutherana, protestor me non responsurum*; This is a Lutheran way of Arguing, I protest I will not answer to it.

Secondlie, You now bring the prooffe of your certaintie from Gods Spirit never failing his Church (though you neither define what is there meant by Church, nor doe you bring any prooffe, or ever can, that Gods Spirit will stay with any unlesse they please it, or that this will not consist with the least error in divine matters) whereas before you made it a Physicall, or rather superphysicall certaintie, that Traditions must be delivered from Age to Age uncorrupted, and this, not because of any other assistance, but *ex necessitate Rei*.

Thirdlie,

Thirdlie, You seeme to thinke, that aptnesse to startle in the faithfull, will serve to secure them from all error, whereas I must professe my selfe, of opinion, that in some times, and some cases, that may serve to induce it; for (it being trulie said, that there is as much follie beyond wisedome, as on this side of it, and *Naxianzene* telling us trulie, that *δια μαρτύρων ὅς σκόπε δι τὸ ζεύοντες αὐτὲ εἶον πέμπουσιν, αὐτὲ ἀρπύγους*, the marke is equallie misled by over shooting, as by shooting short) I doubt whether over much caution may not have made some doctrines, and their Abettors condemned (especiallie when they appeared somewhat new) some Truths rejected for feare, least they did by consequence contradict some point of Faith, when indeed they did, *ὡς περ οἱ κύνες πρὶν σκεῖσθαι εἰ φίλος, εἰ μὲν ἰσχυρῶς, ὑλάττειν*, as Dogs often barke at a friend for an enemy, upon the first noise he makes, before having considered which he is: This made the Ancients so earnest against the now-certainie of the *Antipodes*, this in after times, for the same opinion, cost a Bishop his Bishopricke, and truth in all probabilitie, would have then beene defined a heresie, if a generall Councell had been called about it: Since then this aptnesse to startle hath inclined Orthodox Christians to condemn, not onely those who had affirmed in termes the contrarie to Tradition, but even those, from whose opinions they thought it would result, and consequentlie to exact an Assent, not onely to direct Tradition, but also to whatsoever else seemed to them reasonable

Arist. Ethick.

deductions from it, This seemes to me a way by which Errors may have entered by shoales, the first Ages (I mean then, *Cum Augustinus habebatur inexpugnabilis Dialecticus, quod legisset Categorias Aristotelis*) not having been so carefull and subtile in their Logick, as these more learned times both *Arminians* and *Calvinists*, *Dominicans* and *Jesuites*, *Papists* and *Protestants*, seeming to me to argue much more consequently to their owne Principles, more close to their present businesse, and every way more rationally then the ancient Doctors used to do. I mean those which I have seen: And I am confident that if two or three Fathers should rise againe unknown, and should return to their old Argument against the *Arrians*, from *Cor. meum eructavit verbum bonum*, both Parties would be so farr from receiving them for Judges, that neither would accept of them for Advocates, nor trust their Cause to their arguing, who opposed their common enemy no better.

Now that this way of making Deductions out of Tradition, and those both very hasty, and false ones is very ancient, appeares even by an example in the end of the Gospell of *John*, for there out of Christs words falsly interpreted, a conclusion was drawn and spread among the Bretheren, that Saint *John* should not dye, and what they did out of these words of Christ, other in other times may have done out of other words of his, and their Collection passe for his Doctrine; which shewes the great advantage which we have by Gods Word being written since, if it had not, we could

not

not alwaies have gone to a new examination of the very words, which Christ or his Apostles taught, and consequently a consequence of them spread in the place of them, would have been more incurable then now it is. I will also desire you to look in the five hundred eighty fourth Page of the *Florentine Councell*; set out by *Binius*, and there you will find, that the *Latines* confesse, that they added the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, to the Creed, because the contrary opinion seemed to them by consequence, contrary to a confessed Tradition of Christs eternall Divinity, to which, yet it will appear out of what Cardinall *Perron* hath excellently showne, (though upon another occasion) that it doth not contradict, but that this consequence was ill drawne, which may have been in other points too, and have brought in no small multitude of Errors since, neither was their *Logick* certaine to conclude better, nor were they lesse apt to add to their Creeds accordingly, at any other times then they were at that.

Con. Reg. Tac.
Pag. 708.

Object.

I doubt not but whosoever shall have received satisfaction in the discourse past, will also have received in the point we seek after, that is, in being assured both that Christ hath left a Directory in the World, and where to find him, there being no doubt but it is his holy Church upon Earth: Nor can there be any doubt which is his Church, since there is but one that doth, and can lay claime to have received from hand to hand his holy Doctrine.

That which makes you expect that your Reader should have received satisfaction by what you have said,

Resp.

Arrian.

said, is, that since Christ hath a great care of his Elect, he must consequently (most strongly of any thing) have rooted his Church. Now I having shewed, that by your own confession, men may be of his Elect, that are out of your Church, I seemed to my selfe to have likewise proved, that there is no necessity of any Churches being their Director. I know you generally think this the more convenient way, to have left such a guide, that because otherwise *Dominus non fuisset Discretus*, or in *Epictus* his Phrase, *ὁ θεὸς ἐὰν ἐκείνην ἀποφύγοι* or *δὲν ἡγήτορας*, you conclude that he hath: but we (though indeed in such cases where our *νομοὶς ἐννοίας* the common Notions concerning God, teach us that such a Thing were contrary to Gods maine Attributes to do, some of us conclude upon that ground, that this he hath not done) in these cases which onely concerne convenience, of which we have much lesse certaintie, begin at the other end, and considering first what he hath done, conclude that to be sufficiently convenient, and so finding no infallible guide by him instituted, suppose it convenient that there should be none: Truly if convenience were the measure, and our Understandings the measurers, we should resolve that God hath made every Particular man, at least every Pious man Infallible, and so to need no outward guide, which yet it is plain that he hath not done. Though in my opinion, in some sence, he hath made every man (who pleaseth) Infallible, in respect of his journys end, though not of all Times by the way, certaine to find Heaven though he may misse

misse many Truthes in Divine matters: For the
 believe which God requires of being to be thought
 true of his word, and that man be ready to
 believe and obey what he saies, as soon as it shall
 appear to him that he hath said it, and every man
 being able (according to his meanes) to examine
 what he hath said; It followes, unlesse God should
 damne a man for weaknesse of understanding,
 (which were as strange, as if he should damne him
 for a weak sight, or a feeble arme) that every man is
 Infalible in his way to Heaven, so he lay no
 blocks in it himself, (at least is undoubtedly secur'd
 of any danger of Hell) For if they neither de-
 sire to avoide the trouble of enquiry through un-
 willingnesse to find that to be true, which is contrary
 to what he now thinks, and so to hazard either the
 affection of deare Friends, or the favour of great
 Friends, or the feare of some other humane
 Inconvenience, as want of present meanes, Im-
 probability to get more, or of that disparage-
 ment so terrible to flesh and blood, of descending to
 confesse that they have so long erred, (like *Frobenius*,
qui potuisset vivere, nisi puduisset egrotare,
 who might have lived, but that he was ashamed to
 confesse himself sick) If I say none of these or
 the like things, either keep him from seeking what
 is Gods will, or from daring to professe it when he
 hath found it, then such an Error having no re-
 ference to the will, which is the onely fountaine of
 sin, cannot by a just God be punished as a sin, and
 the prooffe of the necessity of an Infalible Di-
 rector drawn from Gods care of his Church, for
 his

Eras. Ep.

his Elects sake, is easily avoided.

Rhetor.

But say you, if there be a director, it must be the Church, and againe, because you know that all congregations of Christians, pretend to that Title in some sence, (as even the worst men call themselves by better Names then they deserve, as Aristotle saith, *ὅτι ἀνθρώποις πολλοῖς καλῶσι*) and I may mistake our enemies Camp for our friends, and serve against Christ, whilst I think I fight under his Banner (though even then, I beleeve, I should have a share in that prayer of his, to whom none is denied, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe*) unlesse you gave me some certaine marks to know the Church by; you therefore say, what you have before said, that yours is it, because that alone pretends to Tradition, to which I answer, what I before answered, that the *Greeks* serve me to disprove the sufficiency of this Mark, who professe, that they hold the constant Tradition, and that under that Notion, they have both received what you deny, and not received what you propose.

Object.

Let us consider in her Presence or Visibilty, Authority, Power; As for the first, her multitude and succession make the one, that she is ever accessible, ever knowne.

Resp.

What you now say, is not to prove your Church a Directresse, but having (as you think, and I think not) proved that already, you now mean to shew, that she hath the Conditions requisite in a Directresse: But this I deny, for neither is her presence or Visibilty, (for all her mul-

multitude and succession) such as were in a Directresse required : For she (besides that she must bring notice and proofes with her, to prove that she is instituted by God to direct men, and those plain and evident, if she require meerly but our assent, but if she require us to assent Infallibly, then those Infallible, which yours cannot do) must also be so visible, as to be known to all men, if not as a Directresse, at least as a Company of men, which yours sure was not to those Nations, which were lately discovered by *Columbus* : But if you except and say, she need onely be visible to all Christians, (though this exception need a prooffe) yet even this Condition your Church hath not allwaies had, for I believe, to those Christians whom *Xaverius* found in the *East-Indies*, your Church had been as little visible, as to those *Pagans* whom *Columbus* discovered in the *West* : Besides beyond the *Abissins*, how farre Christian Religion may be propagated, and yet your Church unknown, who can tell ? Besides, even to most of them (for any credible Testimony that appears) she may not be very visible. But above all, that reason being answered, upon which you conclude, that there is some Director, and that ground being taken away upon which you build, that yours is that, me thinks it will be unnecessary to dispute long upon the Conditions required to that, which hath no entity at all.

Object.

For Authority, her very claime of Antiquity and Succession, to have been that Church which received her beginning from Christ and his Apostles, and never

being all united under the universall government of
 verfore-went it giveth a great reverence to her among
 those who believe her, and amongst those who with in-
 differency seek to inform themselves, a great Prejudice
 above others. And if it be true, it carrieth an in-
 finite Authority with it, of Bishops, Doctors, Mar-
 tyrs, Saints, Miracles, Learning, Wisedome, Vene-
 rable Antiquity, and such like.

Resp.

There is no Question, but any Church, true or
 false, which claimes to have ever kept the Apo-
 stles Doctrines uncorrupted, and is infallibly be-
 lieved to have done so, must among those Christi-
 ans who thus beleeve, have even equall Authority
 with the Apostles. But me thinks that this claime
 before prooffe, should to others be any prejudice for
 her, (especially to those who have great Argu-
 ments against her) is unreasonable, and if after
 consideration it appears otherwise, she hath then
 onely helpt to weaken her Testimony, and hath
 destroyed her Infallible Authority in any thing else.

Object.

There remaineth Power, which no man can doubt
 but he hath given it most ample, who considereth his
 words so often repeated to his Apostles: But ab-
 stracting from that, who doth not see that the Church
 hath the nature and proportion of ones Country to eve-
 ry one. As in a mans Country he hath Father and
 Mother, Brothers, Sisters, Kinsfolkes, and Allies,
 Neighbours and Country-men, (anciently called Ci-
 ves and Concives) and of these are made his Coun-
 try: So in the Church finds he in way to spirituall
 instruction, and Education, all these degrees nearer
 and further off, till he come unto that furthestmost of
 Christ

Christ his Vicar : and as he in his Country find^s Bearing, Breeding, Settling in Estates and Fortunes, and lastly, Protection and Security ; So likewise in the way of Christianity, doth he find this much more fully in the Church , So that if it be true , that a man oweth more to his Master then to his Father, Bene esse is better then esse ; certainly a man also (as farr as Church and Country can be separated) must owe more to the Church, then to his very Country ; Wherefore the Power which the Church hath to Command and instruct, is greater then the Power of the Temporall Community, of which he is part.

I wish you would have set down these words of Christ, so often repeated to his Apostles, in which Power to the Church (I mean such a one as yours pretends) is undoubtedly given ; For my Part, Truly I remember none ; For I suppose not that the Power given to the Apostles can reasonably be claimed by any Society of men now , no not though you should extend the Definition as largely as *Erasmus*, (who saies *Ecclesiam voco totius Populi Christiani consensum* , I call the Church, the Consent of the whole Christian People) unlesse that be meant too in all Ages, and so the Apostles would come in ; They were so signed, and sealed to (as I may say) from Heaven, by having most conversed with Christ, and been most beloved by him, and chosen especially to teach the World his Will, that it is impossible any men could be indeed Christians, and not receive their Doctrine, as that of Christ, without any other Proove, but there is no other Church that hath

Resp.

such a Priviledge, The Power of proposing the hath, and so have you, and without Question, if you can convince any Christian that what you said, Christ said first, he is bound both to believe and obey it, and againe let all Churches joyne in proposall, yet till he be so convinced, (unlesse his own fault hinder it) it binds him not, neither is it sufficiently proposed, allowing it true, which it is not alwaies necessary that it should be, although so attested. For as a Naturall Foole is not bound to obey any Doctrin or Precept, taught or imposed by God himself, because his understanding cannot discover it to be so: so in my opinion, whose understanding soever is not convinc'd of the same, (how plain soever to others the thing be) he is for as much as concerns this point, in the state of a Naturall Foole, and no more to be condemned.

Neither see I what you prove out of the Proportion between the Church, and every mans Country, (for if any Church be intended by God to be so our Director, that her propositions are to be received, because they are hers, then indeed we owe her much more obedience then to our Country, which if it should require of us to believe an opinion true, because that hath defined it, I believe no man would obey, and he who should pless us to it, would be accounted so mad, that we should send him, not to a Doctor of Divinity, but to a Doctor of Physick, to be confuted.

And that any Church is so intended, appears not at all by this proposition, since the same is even amongst the Church of the *Turkes*, which is *Ecclesia malignantium*,

malignantium, for there they find their Metaphoricall Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Kinsfolks, Allies, Neighbours, (which all Hereticks do too among themselves) all these degrees neerer and further of, till at last they come to that furthest, of being united under the Universal Government of *Mahomets* Vicar, the *Musty*. But to them you would say, that this proves not Truth, but at most Concord, and that is *Factio inter Malos*, which is *Amicitia inter Bonos*, therefore the same we answer you, since Pyrats, and Theeves, have as strict bonds among themselves, as the honestest persons, and often greater conspiracies, and *conspirationes*, to destroy these, then they make to defend themselves. And whereas you say, that we owe more gratitude and obedience to the Church, then to our Country, I have told you, that this may be true without owing obedience to all she teaches; But yet even this in some sense is True; To the generall Tradition of Christians of the first Ages who lived with the Apostles, and could not in any likelyhood but know their writings; I owe the knowledge of the Scripture, and to that, the knowledge of Gods will, and to that, Heaven, if I conform carefully to it both my Life and my Believe; and to the Church in this sense, I owe both as much gratitude as you please, and believe whatsoever this, as generally, witnesseth to have received from the Apostles. But this concerning any present Church, doth as little concerne your present purpose: For let us mean by the Church, that company

Salust.

pany of men which hath kept Tradition wholly uncorrupted, (and suppose there is such a one) yet to know that she hath done so, I must examine her Doctrine; and compare it either with Scripture, or the first Antiquity, and so rather receive her for it, then it for her: Besides, that the whole Church teaches nothing, and if she did, yet by the same waies from any single learned Orthodox man, I may receive the same instruction, to whose commands neverthelesse (except when he delivers Gods) I owe no obedience.

Thustoo, when the Orthodox company commands as they are Orthodox, that is something of the will of God, then they are to be obeyed, and so am I, and so againe, when the chosen governours for that purpose, command indifferent Things, but if they exceed their Commission in commanding, no man is longer bound to obey, no more then if a Mayor of a Town should command the People to make his Hay, they were bound to obedience, since commanding more then his Magistracy authorizeth him, he in that case is no Magistrate.

Object.

This Church can satisfie both learned and unlearned. For in matters of Faith, above the reach of learning, whose spring is from what Christ and his Apostles taught, what learned man can refuse in his inmost soule, to bow to that which is testified by so great a multitude to have come from Christ: and what unlearned man can require more for his faith, then to be taught by a Mistresse of so many prerogatives and advantages above all others.

The

Rep.

Tom. 1.
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The learned cannot reasonable be satisfied with this (especiallie so farre forth as to beleeved in infallible true.) First, because they see great multitudes have and doe resistie contrarie things. Secondlie, because they must have observed with *Salmeron*, that a multitude of some opinion may proceed from some one Doctor, especiallie, if he be illustrious; and some againe, taken with a pious and an humble feare, chuse rather against their mind, to approve what hath come from others, then to bring forth any new thing out of their own understanding, least they may seem to bring some thing unwonted into the Church. This they must needs see, may bring an undelivered opinion to be generall, and then the generallitie may bring it to be thought to come from Tradition, according to *Tertullians* rule, *Quod apud multas ecclesias unum invenitur, non est erratum sed Traditum*, and that of Saint *Austine*, that of whatsoever no beginning is known, and yet is generall, is to be beleeved to have its original from the Apostles. By this way (supposing that all your Church did witnesse, all their doctrines to have had such a lineall succession, which they know to be false) they see, that opinions falslie and illogicallie deduct from true Traditions, may be equallie beleeved to be such themselves, *Vincentius Lirinensis* allowing the following Church to give light to the former, which they might mistake in doing, at least, the certaintie of her Illustrations cannot have their force from Tradition. By this way they see, that in time, such doctrines may come

come to have such a generall attestation, which had their first spring from Scripture mis-interpreted, either by publicke mistakes, or by Councils mislead, either by feare, error, or partialitie, and what proceeded either from consent, or definition; may seem to have been deduct from Tradition: In this they will be confirmed, by seeing plainlie, that more is now required to be beleaved by the Church of *Rome*, then in all times hath been, that now among you contrarie parties urge for or, expect a generall Councell to end questions, concerning which, neither side claimes any continued verball Tradition, and that the greatest part are ready to receive such a definition, in as high a degree, as any Tradition whatsoever; They will be also confirmed by your denying Infalibilitie to a Councell, how generall soever, unapproved by the Pope, by seeing, that if (as you say) no man can be ignorant what he was taught when he was a childe, as the ground and substance of his hopes for all eternitie, and if in this, all your Religion were comprised (or else to what purpose say you this) then no man bred in the Orthodox Church could erre, or ever have erred in matter of Faith, without knowing that he had departed from the very Basis of Christianitie, and for Instructions in these points, not onely all Authors, as Commenters upon Scripture, and the like, were wholly uselesse, but it were also a vaine thing, to goe for instruction even to Christs Vicar, and *S. Hierome* might have resolved his own question, about the *Windows*, every whit as well as

Damasus,

Damasus, or Saint *Peter* himselfe: And for the same reason, it were wholly impossible, that at the same time the Popes, and most notable, and most pious, and most learned Papists living, should have justified, and applauded *Erasmus* for the same workes (the one by his printed *Diplomas*, and the rest by their Letters) for which, at the same instant, the greatest part of the Monkes counted and proclaimed him a more pestilent Heretick then *Luther*, if they had all weighed heresie in the same ballance, and more impossible if in yours; which the learned will yet lesse approve of, when they see how soon the worse opinion, and lesser authoritie may prevaile, as how that of the Monkes hath done against that of the Popes, and Bishops, and that so much, that *Erasmus* is now generallie disavowed as no Catholicke, and given to us (whom wee accept as a great present) that *Bellarmino* will allow him to be but halfe a Christian, and Cardinall *Perron* (which I am sorry for) gives a censure upon him, which would better have become the pen of a *Latomus*, a *Bedda*, a *Stunica*, or an *Egmondane*, then of so learned and judicious a Prelate.

Now for the Ignorant, I am sure you will never be able to prove infallible to them, that your Church hath any prerogatives above others; the ordinarie way cannot be taken with them, because they not understanding the languages, in which the Fathers and Councils are written, cannot be pers'd by what they cannot construe, and your way as little, because they are not more

(though totallie) ignorant of the Authors of past Ages, then they are of the state, opinions, and claimes of the present time; so that I know not how you can attempt them, if they have but a moderate understanding to their no knowledge.

Object.

The body of our Position shoots forth the branches of divers Questions, or rather the Solutions of them: And first, how it happened, that divers Heretickes pretended to Tradition, as the Chiliaists, Gnosticks, Carpocratians, and divers others, yet they with their Traditions have been rejected, and the Church only left in claime of Tradition; For if we looke into what Catholicke Tradition is; and what the Hereticks pretended, the question will remaine voided. For the Catholicke Church calls Tradition, that Doctrine, which was publicly delivered, and the Hereticks called Tradition, a kinde of secret Doctrine, either gathered out of private conversation with the Apostles, or rather pretended, that the Apostles, besides what they publicly taught the world, had another mysticall way, proper to Schollers, more endared, which came not to publique view, whereas the force and energie of a Tradition, residing in the multitude of hearers, and being planted in the perpetual life and actions of Christians, it must have such a publicity, that it cannot be unknown amongst them.

Resp.

Of the Carpocratians and Gnosticks, I have spoke before, but here for the Chiliaists this is only said and not proved: Howsoever this undeniable appears, that either Papias and Irenaeus thought
(ignot)

not

not this Tradition to have come such a way as you speake of, or else they thought it no hereticall way, but such a one, as was (at least reasonable) to be assented to; and both what was the way by which Traditions ought to come, and by which this came they were more likely to know, then those of following ages; which proves, that this Objection (as much as concerns them especiallie) remaines still so strong, that (in spite of *Fevardentius*) it will be better to answer it, *Scalpello quam Calamo*, with a Pen-knife then with a Pen, and no Confuter will serve for it, but an *Expurgatory Index*, no *non si tuus afforet Hector*, if Cardinall Perron were alive.

I must by the way take notice of what you say here, that Tradition must have such a Publicity as cannot be unknown among Christians, and desire you to agree this with what you say in the next *Paragraph*, that the Apostles may not have preached in some Countries some Doctrines, which we now are bound to receive as Traditions, for sure those Doctrines were then unknown among many Christians; and if they had been necessary, sure the Apostles would no where have forgot (with so good a Prompter as the Holy Ghost) to have taught them; If they were not then necessary, how have they grown to be so since? Besides, I appeal to your Conscience, whether it appear that the doctrine of the Exchequer of Superabundant merits; of which the Pope is Lord Treasurer, and by vertue of which he dispenseth his pardons to all the Soules in Purgatory, appear to have been known even to

any of the best Christians, and whether if it had been known to them as a Tradition, (being a Doctrine which necessitates at least Wisdome and Charity, a continuall practice of sueing for them, and of giving them) it were possible, that of what they knew, such infinite Volumes of Authors should make no mention.

Object.

Suppose some private Doctrine of an Apostle to some Disciple should be published, and recorded by that Disciple, and some others, this might well be a Truth, but never obtain the force of a Catholique Position, that is, such as it would be a damnation to reject, because the descent from the Apostle is not notorious, and fit to sway the body of the whole Church.

Resp.

I confesse, that to have been no more generally delivered, will prove that the Apostles thought not such a Doctrine necessary, else their Charity would not have suffered them to have so much concealed it, but yet to any such Doctrine, it is impossible that any Christian, who believes the testimony, that it came from the Apostles, should deny his assent, because it were to deny the Authority, upon which all the rest is grounded; for the Church pretends to her Authority from them, and not they from her, and howsoever, such a Doctrine (although not necessary) could not be damnable as you make this: Besides here will first arise a Question not easie to be decided, how great a multitude of Witnesses will serve to be notorious, and fit to sway the body of the Church, especially so many having not for a long while been thought fit even by Catholiques, though attesting doctrines
since

since received by you all, and considering that multitude of your Church, which believe the immaculate Conception in as high a degree, as it is possible without excommunicating the deniers, who either walk not by that which you count the onely Catholique Rule, or else claime such a Tradition, who yet are not thought fit to sway the rest.

Secondly, I pray observe how easie it was for the two first Ages, at least the chiefe of them, and all that are extant, to have given assent to Traditions so unsufficiently testified, or to have mistaken Doctrines under that notion; (for so they did to this of the *Chiliassts*) and then after for it to spread till it were generall, and last as long as men last upon their authority, and when once it is so spread, how shall we then discover how small an Originall it had, when peradventure the head and spring of it will be as hard to find, as that of *Nilus*, so that the greatest part of what you receive, might possibly appear to be no certainer, nor better built, if we could digg to the foundation: Wherefore, since the delivery of a Tradition by subsequent Ages hath its validity onely from the authority of the first, me thinks you should either think that they received none but upon better grounds, or else think these grounds good.

Thirdly, I know not why you resolve this opinion of the *Chiliassts*, to have had onely such a private Tradition, for though they name *John* the Disciple, and mention certaine Priests who heard it from him, yet they deny not a more general delivery of

of it, but peradventure least men might think that the generall opinion (that it came from the Apostles) might arise from places of Scripture, (which fallacie, their testimony when not so fully expressed, was still in danger of concerning any point, but that these books were written by these men) they therefore thought it fit to name to us their witnesses, that it came from Christs owne mouth, and in what words: And if they had done so much on your side, for the differences between us, I believe you would now have few Protestant adversaries left, for you would have converted the greater part, and by that have been enabled to burn the smaller.

Object.

The second Question may be, How it cometh to passe, that some things, which at first bindes not the Churches beliefe, afterwards commeth to bind it? For if it were ever a Tradition, it ever must needs be publique, and ever bind the Church, and if once it were not, it appears not how ever it could come to be, for if this age for example have it not, how can it deliver it to the next that followeth? But if we consider that the scope of Christian Doctrine being great, and the Apostles preaching in so great varieties of Countries, it might happen some point in one Country might be lesse understood, or peradventure not preacht, which in another was often preacht, and well both understood and retained, we may easily free our selves from these brambles: For the Spirit of Tradition residing in this, that the testimony be exceptionone majors, and beyond all danger of deceit. It is not necessary to the efficaciousnesse of Tradition, that the

the whole universall Church should be witnesse to such a truth, but so great a part as could be a warrant against mistaking; so that if all the Churches of Asia, Greece, or Affrick, or Egypt, should constantly affirm such a Tradition to have been delivered them from the Apostles, it were enough to make a Doctrine exceptionem majorem: Whence it ensueth, that if in a meeting of the universall Church it were found, that such a part hath such a Tradition concerning some matter, whereof the rest had either no understanding, or no certainty, such a Doctrine would passe into a necessary bond of Faith in the whole Church.

Your sword is so sharp, and your shield so weak, that I can hardly believe they came out of the same forge, but when I observe how much you have a better right hand then a left, and that not onely you have raised an objection which you cannot lay, but your answer to it multiplies more, I cannot but compare you to him in *Lucian*, who travelling with a Magician that had no servant, and instead of one was daily wont to say to a Pestle, Pestle be thou a man, and it would be so, and when his occasions were served, would bid it return to be a Pestle, and was obeyed, thought one time to imitate the Magitian, he being abroad, and made indeed the Pestle a man, and draw water, but could not make it return to the former state, but it continued still to draw, wherefore angry and afraid, he took up an axe and clove the Pestle-man in two, whereupon *ἐν ἑκαστῇ τοῦ αἵματος ἐξορροῖται*, in stead of one water-drawer there leapt up two: For first I pray consider,

Resp.

Philos.

consider, what could you have found more certaine to destroy all, which you had before laboured to settle, about the Infallibilitie of your Tradition, then this distinction of *Exceptione Major*, since, if not a generall one, but one which seemed such, were required, how easie was it for false opinions to get in, under that colour, testified but by a few reputed honest men, and so received by, and transmitted from others of great and generall authoritie. Secondlie, how could you have found a better way to answer your owne Objection against the *Chilias* Tradition, for want of being sufficientlie publique, since if that had not seemed to them to have had this condition (I mean, if they had thought they should for this cause have excepted against it) it had been impossible these Saints should have received it, and concerning the publicitie of it, and the number and authoritie of the deliverers, they must of necessitie have been the best Judges who then lived, and who were the more considerable Doctors of the most considerable Ages: so that you must either confesse, that a Tradition bindes not unlesse indeed generall, or confesse that this doth, supposing this not to have been generall, which you cannot prove.

Object.

A likely example of this may be drawn from the Canonickall Bookes.

Resp.

I deny it to be now necessarie to Salvation, to admit of any Bookes for Canonickall, which it was lawfull for Christians in past ages to doubt of, and which had no generall Tradition; and againe, this
answer

answer helps against your selfe: for it is plaine by Saint *Hieromes* Testimonie, that the *Roman* Church received not the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, which the *Easterne* Churches received (whose Testimonie, according to your grounds, she then should have beleaved to be beyond exception) and it is plaine by *Perrons* Testimonie, that the *Easterne* Churches received not the *Macchabees*, when he saies, the Church of *Rome* did. Now it is plaine, that the Receivers pretended to Tradition, because nothing else could make a booke thought Canonically, whereas other opinions might be brought in by a false Interpretation of Scriptures, and after being spread, might be thought to come from Tradition: So that according to your grounds and these testimonies, not only the *Westerne* Church ought to have beleaved the *Easterne* about the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, and the *Easterne* the *Westerne* about the *Macchabees*, but also they ought to have required this assent from each other, which they not doing (as they would have done, if they had thought their testimonie so valid as you doe) it followes, that you doe differ from the Churches of the fifth and sixth age, about what is *exceptione majus*, you thinking that to be so, which they thought not, and againe, from all the extant Doctors of the two first ages, you thinking that not so, which they thought was, as also those two times agreed about it, as little with each other, as you with them both.

The third question may be, how Christian Religion (consisting of so many points) is possible to

Object.

be kept uncorrupted by Tradition, which depending upon Memory, and our memory being so frail, it seemeth, cannot without manifest miracle conserve so great a diversity of points unchanged for so many ages. But if we consider, that Faith is a Science, a thing, whose parts are so connexed, that if one be false, all must needs be false, we shall easily see, that contrarily, the multitude of divers points is a conservation, the one to the right, the other wherein we doubt.

Resp.

As in Judges, when a battell was to be fought between the children of Israel and the Midianites, the Midianites destroyed each other, and left nothing to doe for Israel, but onely to pursue them: so truly, your Objections worke so strongly upon your own Party, that I have nothing left me to presse, and much to applaud: For for this very reason, I beleeve, that all necessarie points were given in writing, and onely the witnessing, that these were the Apostles writings, was left to Tradition, which was both much lesse subject to error (as being but one point, and that a matter of fact) and could no other way be done, because no writing could have witnessed for it selfe so sufficientlie, that we should have had reason to have beleeved it upon no other certificates, and to this your answer seemes to me no way satisfactorie, since, first, I deny Faith to be a Science, it being nothing but an assent to Gods Revelations, neither are those so connexed as you liberallie affirme, and sparinglie prove. Nay, suppose they were, yet though errors would be the lesse likely to enter,

yet

yet when any one, by any means were got in, then this connexion would be a ready way to helpe it to let in all its followes. Besides, those opinions which may be superinduct as Traditions, which such a connexion could not hinder, if they were not contrarie to the true ones; and of this sort is chiefly our question.

That therefore you are no better able to wind your selfe out of this inextricable Labyrinth, is no wonder to me, and no disgrace to you, since a man may as well be a good Logician, though he cannot solve an unsolvable question, as he may be exceedingly skilled in Physick, and yet not able to cure an incurable disease; Besides, that these Objections arose so at the first sight, out of what was to be considered, that it was as impossible for to avoid them, as to answer them.

Let us consider in constant Nations, their language, their habits, &c. how long they continue among them.

Object.

Truly there is no Nation that I know, whose language hath not, and doth not daily palpable suffer change. Consider, that of these *English* hourly denizoming words of all kinde of languages, these of the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *French*, almost made up out of Latine, and that of the ancient *Greekes*, unknown to those of this Age, unlesse they learn it at Schoole: Habits indeed some Nations alter lesse, but some daily, and none change not sometimes. But this is little to the purpose, since those Nations which have remained very constant in things, which no considerable

Resp.

cause appeared to them why they should alter, may yet have received new opinions (especially if not contradicting the old) taught them by such, in whom they wholly relied, (as most go more hood-winkt in these matters, then in those which are indifferent, out of a Vicious humility) or proved by Arguments which perswaded. For when the reasons are probable (as they may be for a fallhood) the Persons pressing them, in themselves of authority (as they may be and yet erre) and the people to whom they are prest, full of esteeme of their Teachers, then meet the three waies of working perswasion which *Aristotle* mentions, whereof αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἴδιαις τοῖς λόγοις, αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀρχαίου δόξαισι πῶς; αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δυνάμει, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ δυνάμει; Especially when besides all these, the rewards of belief proposed, are more then extraordinary, as also the danger of disbelief. Wherefore I count it by no meanes reasonable, ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ὅς' ἀπαρνησάτων ἰχθυοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις, like sheep (without more examination) to walk in the steps of those, who have gone before us.

Object.

See that forlorn Nation of the Jews, how constantly it maintaineth the Scripture, and how obstinately their Errors.

Resp.

Truely I thank you Sir for this example, since it puts me in mind of an Objection, which else I had utterly forgot: Many of those errors which they hold, (as the *Cabala* and others) I pray, upon what other ground hold they them then this, that they have been taught. *Moses* delivered them to their Fathers, as unwritten Traditions, and that under

der that Notion they have descended : Now may not they defend themselves in them, by the very same Arguments which you use in this Treatise for the Church of *Rome* : May not they say that they have received them from their Fathers, who received them from theirs, who must either have joyned in mistaking their Ancestors, or in intending to deceive their Posterity, whereof neither is credible : May not they say, what is said of these last Ages, may be said upwards and upwards, till they come to that, wherein their Fathers received these Doctrines from *Moses*, who was *admirabilis* as worthy of credit in the delivery of these, as in that of the ten Commandements, and their Fathers witnesses beyond exception, that these Doctrines be delivered : May they not ask you in what year or age, these errors entered among them, and say it is evidently true, that then their whole Church conspired to tell a lie. May they not bid you besides consider the Notorioufnesse of the lie : such as he is very rarely found, who is so wicked as to venture upon, besides the greatness of the subject, and the damage ensuing to himself and his dearest Pledges : May they not adde, that the multitude of their Church is so dispersed through so many Countries and Languages, that it is impossible they should agree together upon a false determination, to affirm a falshood for a truth, no Interest being able to be common to them all to produce such an effect : This they may say, and if they do, and retort your own words upon your self, I know not truly what new ones you will find to answer

answer them in, unlesse you change the whole course you now steere, and come about the same way which I now use to you, that is, shewing by what waies such an opinion may have spread among them, although not at first received, and proving out of their owne Authors, that this hath not been alwaies held a Tradition among them, though now so accounted, which is sometimes (as I remember) your owne *Galatinus* his way, and the best that is: But if to that they should againe reply out of your own words (the Names onely changed) that if what *Moses* delivered were certainly true, and what he delivered be to be seen in what they beleevd who heard him, and so till now, it is evident, that they who seek for truth in learned discourses, must needs forego the most certaine and easie way of attaining what they aime at: That *Few*, who should retort this, and much more of this kind upon you, and keep you to Tradition, and make their present Tradition (upon your grounds) the Judge of that, I am of opinion, would make you as silent, as if (according to the Proverb) you had seen a Wolf first, or were a *Pythagoricall-Freshman*, and you would wish you had never put into an enemies hand such a weapon against your self, as this present discourse: So that in *An-na Commenas* Phrase *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ βιβλίου ἀποδείξει*, you have digged a ditch on either side of your selfe: For either you must grant these Arguments not to be sufficient for your Party, or you must allow them to be sufficient for a *Few*.

Object.

Wheresoever Christians labour to convert Idolaters,

lators, they find the onely Argument for their errors that they received them from their forefathers: The King of Socotora thinking to please the Portugalls by reducing a Nation that had the Names of Christians to true Christianity, he found them obstinately protest to him, that they would sooner loose their lives, then part with the Religion their Ancestors had left them.

This is no newes to me who lived seven yeares *Resp.* in Ireland, where, this is all the reason the Vulgar either have or give for their Religion, and it is the lesse strange, when I remember *Aristotle's Ethics*, where he tells us of one, who defended the beating of his Father, thus, *ἡ γὰρ ἐστὶν (ἐστὶν) τῶν ἡμετέρων κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν*, because it had been the lineall custome of his Familie to do so. Yet for all this, that those who earnestly desire to keep the Religion of their Forefathers, and think they have done it, may yet be deceived, may appear to a Christian by the example of the *Jews*, and to any *Romanist*, by the example of the *Grecians*.

To your example of the answer to the King of *Socotora*, I answer,

That either those heterodox Christians had been at first converted by Hereticks, or by Catholiques; If by Catholiques, (and your Church be that, and your grounds be hers) then it is plaine, that men may grow into great error, who hold fast, as they think upon Tradition, and may swerve from that Rule, whilst they think they walk by it. If by Hereticks, then it seemes Catholiques (as you call them) are not the onely Religion that have converted

Object.

converted Nations, and that note of the Church which is so daily and so eagerly prest, appeares common to more then it : And so you may take which horne of my Dilemma you please.

To come at length to give an answer to him that demands a guide at my hands, I remit him to the moderne Visible Church of Rome, that is, her who is in an externe sensible communion with the externe sensible Clergie of Rome, and the externe sensible Head, and Pastor of that Church. If he ask me, how he shall know her, I must counter-interrogate him, who he is. Is he an ignorant man? is he unlearned, yet of good understanding in the World? Is he a Scholer, and what Scholer? A Grammarian, whose understanding hath no other help then that of Languages? Is he a Philosopher? Is he a Divine? (I mean an Academicall one, for a true Divine is to teach not to ask this Question) Is he a Statesman? For he that can think one answer can, or ought to be made to all these, may likewise expect, that one cause may produce all effects: Yet I deny not but all must have the same guide, though they are to be assured of that guide in divers manners.

Resp.

I confesse Sir, you come to the Demander but at length, for till I had read further, I had not known that your Treatise was intended for an answer to mine, if I had not been told so when it was given me. For hitherto, as *Baash* a King of *Israel*, in the *Chronicles*, when he came against *Judah*, assail'd not their Cities, but built *Ramoth* against them, so you have not attempted to destroy what I had said, but raised another consideration, a
City

City, a Ramoth of your own; against which I have brought such battery, as seemes to me sufficient to demollish it.

Now for your directions to a guide, I answer, supposing that there is one, and that this you speak of be now it, (for you will not say she alwaies is) and not to quarrell with you for giving me an accidental and mutable guide, that being a thing which you suppose so necessary to be alwaies known, I will joyn issue upon this with you, whether she be to be known to be a guide by any Infallible Notes, for such are required by reason to beget such an assent, as is required by you, all other being rearmed by your selves, not Faith, but Opinion. To your Contra-interrogation therefore who I am, that is, in whose Name I speak, I answer and profess my self one of the notably ignorant, but though I act my own part onely, when I speak in his person, yet for once I will adventure to answer you, in the name of the severall persons you speak of, and will shew, that none of them have sufficient cause to receive the guide which you propose upon the reasons which you alleadge.

Object.

If the ignorant man speaketh, I will shew him in the Church of God decency, and Majestie of ceremonies, above all other Sects and Religions, whereby dull capacities are sweetly ensnared to beleewe the truth they heare, from those whom they see to have the outward signes of Vertue and Devotion.

Resp.

To this I answer, in the ignorant mans person (that is in my own) thus, I for my part, neither see what you say you shew me, (for in all decency and

Majestie of ceremonies, the Kings Chappell seems to me to equall the Queens, and our Cathedrall Churches, much to surpassse your cock-lofts) and if I did, yet the decency of them would not prove your Church to be a good guide, so well as a good mistresse of ceremonies, and if by their majestie you mean their Magnificence, then that would onely prove her rich and not orthodox, since this is such a note, that (her doctrine remaining as true as it is) one persecution would serve to destroy it; and with it, all that meanes which you allow the Ignorant to find his guide by; And whereas you say, that dull capacities are by this sweetly ensnared to beleve the Truth; I answer, that by the same meanes they may be as sweetly, and as easily ensnared to beleve falshoods, unlesse you could shew that Majestie and Truth are inseparable Companions.

Object.

If the unlearned ask, I shew him the claime of Antiquity, the multitude, the advantages of Sanctity, and Learning, how the World was once of this accord, and those who opposed, when they first parted, first began the contrary Sects, how the points of difference be such, as on the Catholique side help devotion, and on the contrary side diminish the same, and such like sensible differences, which will clearly shew an advantage on the Catholiques side, which is the proportionall motive to be understanding.

Resp.

I see indeed you claime Antiquitie, but do you think it reasonable that I should take your word. Our Divines (whom because I know more, I have more cause to trust then you, in a case of which I

my self can take no cognizance) absolutely deny it, and to me you cannot disprove them, unlesse I had at least some learning to enable me to judge, who quotes that trulie which now I cannot construe : For multitude, I find not what that proves, it may work upon my feare rather then upon my assent, yet I am told, that many more Christians disagree from your Church in this maine Question of her being a guide, then she consists of, that the *Turks* are more then both, and the *Pagans* more then all three, so that if they relate the state of the world aright, multitude must rather seem an argument against truth then for it : And forasmuch as I can see my self, your Religion is the least in this Kingdome, and I know no other : For the advantages of sanctitie and learning, to the first I answer, that since in a Countrie where the State is their adversarie, and where for feare of scandale, and hope of gaining numbers to their Church, (to help both to the suretie and ornament of it) by commending their Doctrine by their lives, in likelihood they are more vigilant against vice, then where they have no such thornes against their brests to keep them awak, even here I can find no such advantage as you pretend, I have no cause to guesse that I should find it where the incitement of emulation and such like, are absent, and the charmes of greatnesse, wealth, power, and by consequence likelihood of impunity are preient : For the advantage of learning, I answer, that speaking to me with the fore-knowledge of my being unlearned, I wonder you should make

use of such a motive, which (how true soever it were in it self) I am not capable of discerning to be so, any more then a blind man is likely to assent to an argument drawn from Colours, of which he could have no possible notion. Now whereas you say that the world was once of this accord, it is more then I know: we are told that whole Churches in the *East*, had long denied this, when *Luther* first left you, and howsoever that it could not be brought in time by arts, propt by power to accord in an error, is more then you have proved. Whereas you say, that those, who opposed this, when they first parted, first began the contrary Sects: I answer, that our men pretend that they began no new Doctrine, but onely scoured off the rust which time and worldly ends in some, and negligence in others, had suffered to grow on. Which Question againe remains to be tried, (if you refuse Scripture, as your side useth to do) by a Jury of such who are for the most part untranslated, or those which are by Parties) and whose language I cannot spell, nor consequently determine by their evidence: Now whereas you say, that the points in controversie on your side help Devotion, and on ours diminish it, I wish you had instanced which, and wherein, for I for the most part see nothing towards it, they being meere speculative opinions, and not reduceable to life, as especially this whereof we most differ, which is your Churches being a generall guide; Those, which most may seem such, are either Confession, (which yet we denie onely to be necessary, not profitable, if well used, which

which is practised by some of us, and recommended to all, and which as you have tempered it, making contrition sufficient for his salvation; who hath till his hour of death lived in all sin, and making attrition with absolution of the same force as contrition, and requiring to attrition, (as I am told you do) onely sorrow for sin, though arising from the feare of Hell, so some love of God being joyned to it, which none can want but an Infidell) will not help Devotion much, but rather diminish it) or Monastick life, (which was grown into great excesse and disorder, which yet many wise and moderne Protestants think might as well have been reformed as the other parts of the Church, without totall obolition, and so upon this is less no Question) or Fasting, (which if you think Protestants are against, I pray read Bishop *Andrews* his Lent Sermons, and which if it be not so much used among us as it should, is not so much the fault of the Religion, as of the Men) and all these things considered, I find none of your motives to shew a maine advantage on your side, and therefore I have yet no cause to leave my owne: And if in some of these things you should seeme to have more Truth then we, yet that would not free you from having more error in other points then this comes to, much lesse from having any at all, without the beliefe of which, I should not be received among you, though I were willing to come: And this lieth upon you to prove, and that not by probable, but by infallible arguments, if you require (as they say your side useth to do) an assent of that Nature.

To

Object.

To the Grammarian I will give two Memorandums; first, that seeing the Catholicks were first in possession both of the Scriptures, and the Interpretations: The adverse part is bound to bring such places as can receive no probable Exposition by the Catholickes. For who knoweth not, that is conversant in Criticks, how many obscure and difficult places occur in most plaine Authors, and the Scripture of all Bookes (the greater part of the men that wrote them, especially the New Testament, being not eloquent, and writing not in their native Tongue) for the most part, are subject to much impropriety: The other Memorandum is, that, to prove a Catholique point by Scripture, it is sufficient, that the place brought, beare the Exposition the Catholique giveth, and if it be the more probable by the very letter, it is an evincent place. The reason is, because the question being of a Christian law, the Axiome of the Jurists taketh place, that *Consuetudo optima Interpres Legis*, so that if it be manifest, that Christian practise (which was before the controversie) bee for the onesence, and the words be tolerable, no force of Grammer can prevaile to equalize this advantage: The Grammarian therefore, who will observe these Rules, I turne him loose to the Scriptures and Fathers, to seekethere what is the Faith of Christ and proprieties of her Church to know her by.

Resp.

To your first Memorandum, I answer, that you have grounded it wholly upon begging the question: for if those of your Religion had first been in possession of the Scriptures, then the Christians had been of it in the Apostles times, which

which if you could prove, you would need to prove no more, but all would easilie follow: and then for your consequence, that is equallie false, for though I confesse, to make any Doctrine a point of Faith, it is required, that the place be as plaine as you please, yet to the making it the more probable opinion (and consequentlie excluding the contrarie from being necessarie) so much is not required. The greatest cause of the obscuritie of those bookes, in which Criticks are conversant, is the negligence and ignorance of Transcribers, so that some Authors would scarce know their own Bookes, if they were revived, whereas the great care of Christians about so deare a pledge, hath much, if not wholly hindered, the same cause from perverting, and so obscuring Scripture: At least, if it have not, it seemes your Church is not so faithfull a Guardian of her deposit, as her deare friends (moved by partiallitie or ends) would make us beleeve: Besides, till now I ever thought, that Eloquence rather lead men to speake improperly, then the want of it, since ignorant persons keepe themselves within the bounds of what preciselie they meane, whereas the eloquent wander into figures, which are so many, and have gotten such footing in language (whilst in the search of significantie proprietie is lost) that those, who use them, are obliged to those who will please to understand, because all they say may beare two senses, the one proper, the other improper: And though it be true, that they have over-flowne, even into the language of the ignorant, yet it is as true, that

that both they are much lesse used among these, and that they had not hence their beginning; but from Eloquence: And though the Apostles write not in their native Tongues, yet they write in an inspired language, so that they were not likely to commit, at least, any such solocismes as should destroy the end of the Inspirer, which was, that they should be understood by it.

To your second Memorandum I answer, that since every man is free till some thing binds him, you (who pretend, that we are bound to receive more doctrine as necessarie, then appeares to us to be so) are in all reason to give us plainlie evincent prooffe, that what you thus require, God requires too; for till then (to returne you to another Axiome, for yours) *presumitur pro libertate*; whereas wee (the burden of the Negative prooffe not lying upon us) if we bring probable Arguments, we doe it *ex abundanti*, and bring more then we need to bring; And whereas you stand upon Customes, having power in Law matters, I answer, that in all cases that is not of force, for we hold, that it must not prevaile against a Statute, which shewes, that they may be contradictorie, and as *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, is thought to be a good civill topicall Law, so me thinks, *Nullum tempus occurrit veritati*, is a good publique divinitie Law, your owne Scripture too telling us, that Truth is stronger then the King; Besides, where it is of force, it is in such cases as the law hath appointed that it should be so, and if you can prove out of Christs Law, that there it is so appointed

pointed to be in matters of Divinity, wee shall willinglie yeild, but seeing that our law, which allowes this force to custome, sets downe also in how long time it is, before it become of force, and I have cause to thinke, that Christ would have been as carefull as our law, and have set down this too, if he had had any such meaning, and if it were settled to be a custome of such a standing (as by Saint *Austine* sometimes is spoken of) as that in no time it be known that ever it was otherwise, in most of your affaires this would stead you a little, though one side have burnt the evidences of the other, to which in likelihood you owe it, if this stead you in any, of questions, whereof Scripture and Antiquitie are wholly silent, or meerly speculative, and unreducible unto act (of which sort are the greatest between us) or not concerning the lawfulnessse, but the necessity of an Action, to the first kind no ancient custome can belong, nor other to the others then a custome of Interpretation of some text concerning it, not enough to conclude upon (besides, that it is not that which you speake of) since daily your men differ, and defend their differing from all that went before them, about more then many texts, as *Cajetane*, *Salmeron*, and *Maldonate* shall beare me witnesse, unlesse, like *Sampson*, you may breake those Ropes by which others must be bound: And adding to all this, that our custome may serve to shew the meaning of the law, when our selves were Authors of it, though not when God is, and that our generall custome arguing our united consent (which

onely gives force to our lawes) may be as fit to bind, as a law in civill cases, and yet not in divine, where the lawes proceed from a higher fountaine, that such a rule may be good in civill resolutions, which require but probable proofes, and yet not in divine ones, where (according to the grounds of your Party, which requires an undoubting assent to her doctrines as infallible) infallible proofes are necessary, especially this, like other Topycall arguments, having onely force *ceteris paribus*, and againe good where it is not so necessary, that the will of the Legislator be followed, as that peace and quiet be preserved, to which, all alterations, even to the better, are enemies, and yet not in these cases, where we are to prefer the will of our Law-maker before any humane convenience, or good, if the custome past unquestioned, when the Law was first promulgated, but not, if crept in after by negligence, or plainly appearing to have been brought in by power, all this perswading me not to be so far swaied by your Rules as you would have me, I suppose you have small hope, that not being so, I should find either in Scripture, or the first Antiquitie, either that Faith which your Church proposeth, or these properties of Christs Church, by which your Church proves, or rather strives to prove, that she it is: Give me leave besides to aske you one Question, and that is, What we shall conclude when the Christian practice of severall places have ever differed, as that of *Greece* from that of *Rome*, which it may also do in more places then

we are acquainted with, the extent of Christianitie being unknown to us, as are the customes of some remote Christian Countries which we know.

Of the Philosopher; I exact to goe like a Philosopher, and to search out the specificall differences of every Sect, and when he hath found them (if any one but the Catholique hath any rule of faith and good life, which I remit to him to enquire) but at least, when he hath found the Catholicks to be this claime of Tradition before declared, then if this doe not bring him as demonstratively as he knoweth any Conclusion in Philosophy, and Mathematicks, to the notice of this, is the onely true Church of Christ, for my part I shall quit him before God and Man.

I have examined the differences between all parts as you bid me, and find the Protestants to have a sufficient rule of Faith, and good life, yea such a one as by Master *Knotts* confession, (*Quem honoris causa nomino*) is as perfect as a writing can be. And since a writing may containe all Doctrines, and onely cannot give testimonie to it self, nor be *ad totum* ^o, I have no reason to think it inferior to that of their adversaries: Your claime of Tradition I see plainly enough, and as plainly, that it is but a claime, many of your side overthrowing it, and others not of your owne, pretending to it: Bishop *Fisher* confesseth, that Scripture and Miracles brought in the Doctrine of Purgatory, and that againe the doctrine of Indulgences.

Erasmus, who though himself no Martyr, yet one who may passe for a Confessor, having suffe-

Object.

Respond.

red, and long by the Bigotts of both Parties, and a dear Friend both to *Fisher*, and his Colleague in Martyrdome, Sir *Thomas Moore*, (who were the *Deucations* of learning in this our Country) makes yet a larger confession. *Non obscurum est quot opiniones invecata sunt in orbem per homines, ad suum Questum callidos, conflictorum Miraculorum praesidio* : These reasons alone (allowing for brevities sake that I had no more) would make me believe, not onely that what you say concludes not geometrically, but perswades not probably, and consequently, you by your promise have quitted me, which without it I doubt not but God would have done.

Object.

The Divine, if he hath truly understood the Principles of Faith in the nature of a Divine, I mean Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption, Eucharist, Beatitude, the Creation and Dissolution of the World, and hath seen the exact conformity of the deepest Principles of Nature, with an unspeakable wisdom of the Contriver : If he doth not plainly confesse 'it was above the naure of man to frame the Catholique Religion, and seeth not that onely that is conformable to Nature, and it self, I say, he hath no ground sufficient to be of it.

Resp.

Supposing the greatest part of what you say to be true, (for I see not how a bare consideration even of these Doctrines will serve to prove them to come from Gods Revelation) it might prove the Christian Religion against *Pagans*, but for yours against *Protestants*, I can draw out of it no Argument, which if upon your explanation, it appears

peares not to be through the default of the *Lymbeck* (which I expect) then the better I think of you, the worse I shall think of your cause, which would have ministred to so sharp an inquirer, better proofes, but that the old *Axiom* hindered it of, *Nihil dat quod non habet* : These Principles of Faith you speak of, are agreed on by both Parts, so out of their Truth, and the impossibility of their being forged, all the other points cannot be proved, which have upon them no necessarie dependence : and that your Religion is conformable to the deepest Principles of Nature, I am so farr from seeing, that I conceive your own opinion of Transubstantiation contradicts them almost all : Neither see I any such unspeakablenesse in the contriving, but that ordinary understandings by severall degrees, in a long tract of many ignorant negligent ages, egged on by ambition, cloakt over by hipocrisie, assisted by false miracles, and maintained by tyrannie, might easily both induce and establish them, so that though we have hitherto differed in our premisses, yet we meet in the Conclusion, which is, that I have no sufficient ground to be of your Religion.

The Statesman, who is truly informed of the Church, how farr is really of Christs institution, and what either pious men have added, or peradventure ambitious men encroacht, if he doth not find a government of so high and exoticick straine, that neither mans wit dare to have attempted it, neither mans power would possibly have effected it ; If he find no eminent helpes, and no disadvantage to the temporall govern-

Object.

government, I shall think there wants one Starr in the heaven of the Church to direct these Sages to Bethlehem.

Resp.

I answer now in the person of a Statesman, (a part which but for this occasion, I am sure never to have acted) Thus,

I find so much policie in your Church, for most part really, and alwaies in *voto*, aimed at, although mis'd, that of no body of men did ever *Aristotl's* saying appear to me truer, *ναὶ ἐνὶ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ἔστιν ἰσχυρὸν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν*. Among some men it is the end of the Lawes of their Commonwealth to be masters of their neighbours, but I find nothing in the government that should prove it, to proceed from a divine fountaine: In Ecclesiasticall Monarchie you have, so have also the *Turks*, the Pope pretends to a power of ending all controversies, so doth also their Musty, and since mans wit attempted that, and mans power effected it, why it might not do the same in the West it did in the East, (having the aide of some Tinsell-reasons, and some not wholly averse places of Scripture) I cannot conceive: And what help is by your Church given to temporall government, I see not, unlesse giving the Pope power in temporalls, even to depose Kings be the helps you mean: I know that some of your side are not concerned in this, but it is grown so generall, that though it be as yet no necessary part of your Religion, it is like to be shortly; And truly throughout I find somethings which pious men have added, many, whic ambitious men have encroacht, (though

of

The *Romans* will come and take away both our Place and Nation; Some because of the contradiction in the true Doctrine to their vaine or wicked desires, and so as some Disciples said, though somewhat upon another occasion, they account it, *χρηστὸν λόγον*, a hard saying, (which made *Epictetus* say, *ποῦς μάλα καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων, ὅδε γὰρ πῶς ἀγνοῖται λαβεῖν*, indeed most Christians, who oppose any of Christs Commands, either for some of these reasons, dare not enquire whether Christ hath commanded them, *ὁρῶνται ἐρωτήσαι περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου*, or enquiring find, but confesse it not, like those I spoke of before, who *ἐπιτεύουσι ἀπὸ ἐκ ἀμολογῶν*: As *Epictetus* therefore saith, that we should enquire of God, who is our guide, as Travelers do of them they meet, *ἐκ ἐχόντες ὁρῶντες περὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μᾶλλον ὁρῶντες ἢ τῆς ἀριστερῆς*, having no desire to turne rather to the right hand then to the left, or againe, as we enquire of our eyes concerning what is to be seen, *παρακαλῶντες αὐτοὺς, ἵνα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἡμῖν δεικνύωσιν*, not perswading them to shew us one thing rather then another, so say I, ought we to goe to reason to find Gods will indifferent, which is Truth, or else we are likely very lazilie to seek what we are unwilling to find, and a probable argument for what we desire, will seem a Demonstration, and a Demonstration against it scarce a probable Argument. This I insist upon the more, because I think we have more cause to put you in mind of this, then you us, being too little practised on both parts, but not most by yours, whereof the greatest part commonly arrives not so farr, as at the fault of not seeking

seeking as they should, because commonly they have not leave given them to seek at all: for besides those who neglect to seek and may, no Bible being allowed by you to most, as no Smith was suffered by the *Philistines* in *Israel*, they fearing least the *Hebrews* should make them swords and speares, and you least they should make out of it, Arguments to perswade them to revolt from you. It is no wonder if your Church, belike the Congregation in the *Acts*, *ἐκκλησία συζητοῦμένη καὶ διελούσας ἐν πόλει τινος ἕνα οὐνελλοῦσθαι*, the most part know not why they are come together. And truly if thus it were not, if all had liberty to seek Truth, and if all who sought it were indifferent in their seeking, and their judgments were absolutely unbridled by their affections, and unswayed by prejudice, I cannot perswade my self that so many could meet in thinking it fit to receive (for so they seem to me) such impossible Doctrines upon such improbable grounds, or to require a more then probable assent to but probable Doctrines, (allowing them to be such) and should not see what is grounded upon them, (if not impossible) is at least much more improbable, then the Motives are probable, which kind of Assent cannot be expected by God, who as he requires onely *λογισμὸν λογικὸν*, a reasonable service, so also *λογικὴν πίστιν*, a reasonable Faith.

Here followeth the Third Part of this Discourse, which is a Reply to such Answers as you have been pleased to make to a little of that little, which I at first opposed.

Resp.

Speaking of the Church Rome, as this day it is the true Church of God. I answer the doubter, she neither hath, nor can have any error which he need to feare, and be shie of.

The which two limitations I adde, for avoiding Questions impertinent unto our businesse.

The first, for those which concerneth the connexion of the Sea of Rome to the Universall.

The latter, to avoide such Questions as touch that point, whether the Church may erre in any Philosophicall or other such matter, which Questions are not so pertinent to our Matter.

Repl.

Meaning by the true Church a companie of men, which hold all (and no more) that Christ taught (for other interpretation, I beleeve, you will not give it) then there is no question, but that not onely it hath no dangerous error, but none at all; but that yours is such remaines unproved, and I beleeve, *manet aeternumque manebit*. For upon examination, I doubt not, it will appeare, that as I have read of a Cohort of *Persians*, which they called *σπειράν ἀθάνατον*, the Immortall Cohort, which all died in one battell; so your infallible Church

Church will be found to abound in errors, and to belie equallie her title, being troubled her selfe, with what she undertakes to secure others from, like the Apothecary in *Lucian*, who undertaking to cure all men of the Cough, *αὐτὸς μεταξὺ σπασμῶν ἐσθλῶν & ἰσχυρῶν*, could himselve scarce prescribe his Medicine for coughing the while. Besides, of what sort soever the error be, yet since the Condition of her Communion is to professe a beleife that she hath none, such a one as to them, who indeed beleeeve so, would not be dangerous, yet to me, who cannot professe this but against my Conscience, how slight a one soever, may be an occasion of damnation: Againe, as to me your answer appeares false, so to those of your own side it will appeare hereticall; to me it would give no satisfaction (though you had proved what you but affirme) because I desire to know an eternall, not a temporarie Guide, whereas if in your Church there should happen any Schisme, your answer then would give me no meanes to resolve my selfe which part were the guide (that is the true Church) without a new, and peradventure (by the way) an endlesse search. To them it will give scandall, because, first, you presuppose that we must know the Church by the Doctrine, and the Doctrine by the Church; and secondlie, you imply a possibilitie, that the Church of *Rome* is now but by accident (and may come not to be) the true Church, and so all their confidence built upon her, as the Directresse of all Churches, and the eternall Admirall of Gods

Fleet will appeare to have a very fallible foundation: Besides, in the cause of your Limitation I find more reason to commend your Discretion, then your Ingenuitie: for, for the first, if you had said, that the Univerfall Church of Christ must alwaies be connected to the particular one of Rome, which were to allow her Infallibilitie, you knew Antiquitie to have said much against you; and besides, that this being not yet *de fide* among your selves (nor evident in it selfe), could not serve for a foundation to the whole bodie of our faith; if you had absolute lie denied it, you knew, that you should incur the displeasure of the most prevailing part of your own men, and that then the maine (and to the Ignorant the onely visible) signe would bee taken away. For the second, if you had affirmed, that the Church could erre in nothing, how slight soever, you would both have contradicted many of your own sids, as Stapleton by name, and have asserted more then there were any colour of prooffe for, and would have wanted this distinction to retire to: if you were confuted in any particular, if you had restrained her Infallibilitie to things necessarie, or weightie, or the like, then the question would again have risen, which are those (for many errors, which we lay to her charge, concerne not things indeed necessarie, though she adde to the error, that other of thinking, that whatsoever she holds becomes necessarie by her holding it), and then for all you have said, the doctrine of Purgatorie might be false, and yet so the Church, and that infallible,

as faire as by your Doctrine her Infallibilitie had need to be extended.

Neither doe I remit the questioner to Scripture for his satisfaction, although I hold Scripture a very sufficient meane to satisfie the man, who goeth to it with that preparation of understanding and will which is meet and required. Howsoever this I may answer for them who prove it out of Scripture, that because they dispute against them who admit of Scripture, and deny the authority of the Church, if they can convince it, they doe well, though they will not themselves admit generally of a proofe out of Scripture, as not able to prove every thing in foro contentioso.

Resp.

If you hold Scripture to be so sufficient a mean, I wonder, Sir, why you thinke not fit to remit me to it, unlesse you thinke, that you have severall sufficient waies to prove so evident a Truth by, or thinke me not to come with meet preparation: Indeed if that be (as among you it is counted) to come resolved, not to judge of what the Roman Church holds, by what the Scriptures say, but to beleve, that they say whatsoever she holds, then I confesse, I come not with the Conditions required, but if it be to come desirous to finde the Truth, and to follow and professe it when I have found it, in spite of all temporall respects, which might either fright or allure me from so doing, then I suppose, that Charitie (which hopeth all things) will encline you to beleave, that I come as I ought to come, untill some evident reason perswade you to the contrarie: That the Scripture cannot

Repl.

X
cannot prove every thing in *foro contentioso*. I beleeve, but all necessarie Truths, I beleeve it can; for onely those, which it can, are such: I denie not, but that a contentious person may denie a thing to be proved, when his own Conscience contradicts his words, but so he may Arguments drawn from any other ground as well as Scripture, so that if for that cause you refuse to admit of proofes from thence, you might as well for the same, refuse to admit of any by any other kinde of Arguments: And certainlie, if the Scriptures (I meane the plaine places of it) cannot be a sufficient ground for such and such a point, surelie it cannot be a sufficient ground to build a ground upon, as the Churches Infallibilitie, and therefore, though it it seemes you desire so much that this be beleeved, that so it be, you care not upon what prooffe, yet a considering Protestant, who is not as hot to receive your Religion, as you are that he should, may presentlie say, when he is press'd by you with Scripture to this, since this is a way of prooffe which your selves admit not of, an Argument from hence may bring me from my own Religion, but never to yours, because it is a beame which that relies much upon, that by any other way, then the authoritie of the Church, no man can be sufficientlie sure of the meaning of Scripture.

Resp.

That they say, the Church is made infallible that we may have some guide, I thinke it very rationall; for Nature hath given ever some strong, and uncontrollable Principle in all Natures to guide the rest. The Common-wealth hath a Governour not
questio-

questionable, our Understanding hath Principles which she cannot judge, but by them judgeth of all other verities. If there should not be some Principle in the Church, it were the onely maimed thing God had created, and maimed in its Principall part, in the very head. And if there be such a Principle, the whole Church is Infallible by that, as the whole man seeth by his eyes, toucheth by his hands.

Christ is our unquestionable, and infallible Governour, and his Will the Principle by which we are guided, and the Scripture the place where this Will is contained, which if we endeavour to find there, we shall be excused, though we chance to misse, and therefore want not your guide, (who either is not, or as hard to find as the way: and againe, when he hath defined, the certaine meaning of that definition, as hard to find as herself.) Neither is a company of men thus beleiving, maimed in the head, though having no other more uncontrollable Principle: If your guide were evident of her self, as those Principles are by which we judge all things else, then your Similitude would hold a little, whereas being neither knowable in her self, nor proveable by ought else, what you have said onely shewes, what an ill match is made, when Witt is set against Truth.

Repl.

It is sufficient for a Child to believe his Parents, for a Clown to believe his Preacher about the Churches Infallibility: For Faith is given to mankind, to be a meanes of believing, and living like a Christian, and so he hath this second, it is not much matter in what tearmes he be with the first.

Resp.

To

Repl.

To what you say, I answer, that I confesse that it is not possible that without particular Revelations, or Inspirations, the ignorant, even of the Orthodox party, should receive their Religion upon very strong grounds, (which makes me wonder, that even from them you should exact an assent of a higher nature, and a much greater certaintie, then can be ministred to them by any arguments which they are capable of) yet if they believe what they receive, with an intention of obedience to God, and supposall that their opinions are his Revelations, and use those meanes which they in their Conscience think best to examine whether they be or no, (though it be when they find themselves unable to search, by trusting others whom they count fittest to be trusted) I beleeve they are in a very saveable estate, though they be farr from having of the truth of their Tenets any Infallible certaintie; and the same I think of those which are in error, for since you cannot deny, but that a Child, or a Clown, with the same aptnesse to follow Gods will, may be taught by his Parents, or his Preacher, that what God forbids, he commands, that Christ's Vicar, is Antichrist, or the Church, *Babylon*, and scarce teacheth any truth, though it could not teach the least error; why should such a one be damned for the misfortune of having had Hereticall Parents, or a deceiving Preacher: For no more it seemes is required of such, then to give his beliefe to those; (And indeed the same reason extended, will excuse him, who though learned, impartially

impartially aimeth at Gods will and misseeth it) for though you seeme to insinuate, by the cause you give of what you say, that so men believe and do what they heare God command, he careth not upon what grounds, yet I, who know that God hath no other gaine by our so doing, then, that in it we sacrifice to him our soules and affections, cannot believe, but that they shall be accepted who give him that which he most cares for, and obey him formally, though they disobey him materially, God more considering and valuing the Heart then the Head, the end then the actions, and the fountaine then the streames; And truely else he who through stupidity or impotence abstained from any vice, or through negligence or prejudice mis'd some error, would be as well accepted of by God, as he that by a care of his waies and of obedience to him who should rule them, did avoide the first, and by a studious search, the second.

I cannot part from this Theame without one consideration more, and that is, that if so Fallible a Director as you speak of, may be cause enough of assent to one Truth, why may they not be so to another, and why shall not the beleefe of our ignorants, upon their testimonie, that the Scripture is the Word of God, be as well founded, as that of yours to the Infallibility of the Church upon the same? And yet it is daily objected to us, that this beleefe of ours is not surely enough founded, since not received from their Church, although the unlearned among us receive

it from their Parents and Preachers, and the learned from Tradition, as from the first of those your unlearned do; and from the second of which your learned pretend they do receive the authority, and infallibility of the Church it self. Although we be so much more reasonable then you, that we require them not to be so sure upon it, as they are of what they know by sense, but onely to give them so much credit, that they may give up their hearts to obedience.

Resp.

Neither do I render him to a generall and constant Tradition, as if himself should climbe up every age by learned Writers, and find it in every one I take it to be impossible testimonies one may find in many ages, but such as will demonstrate and convince a full Tradition I much doubt. Neither do I find by experience, that who will draw a man by a rope or chaine, giveth him the whole rope or chaine into his hands, but onely one end of it, unto which if he cleave hard, he shall be drawn which way the rope is carried. Tradition is a long chaine, every generation or delivery from Father to Son being a link in it, &c.

Repl.

Of this opinion I was wholly before, First upon my own small observation, (which also perswaded me, that no controverted opinions had so much colour for such a Tradition out of antiquity, as some which now are by both parts condemned. And after, by consideration of what hath been so temperately learned, and judiciously written by our Protestant, *Perron D. Alle*. But though I think that nothing is wholly provable by sufficient testimonies of the first ages, to have had

Primary

Primary and generall Tradition, (except the undoubted books of Scripture, or what is so plainly there, that it is not controverted between you and us) yet I think the Negative is easie to be proved, because any one known person dissenting, and yet then accounted a learned and pious Catholique, shews the Tradition not to have been generally, and that the Church of this Age differs from that of those times, if it Anathematize now, for what then was either approved of, or at least thought not so horrid but it might be borne with. And again, though we agree upon what will not serve to convince a full Tradition, yet we disagree about what will serve; for allowing there were any controverted opinions delivered, with equall Tradition to the Scripture (which I deny to have beene, but would receive if it so appeared) yet sure you beginne at the wrong end, in the examination of what those are, which ought to be done, by considering the testimonies of the first ages, and not of the last, for in your own similitude of a rope, though to helpe me to climbe by it, you put but one end into my hands, yet you must shew me, that the other end is somewhere fastened, or else, for ought I know, instead of getting up by it, I may onelie get a fall, and this fastening appears not to me, till I be shewed some more certaine connexion between the Opinions of this Age, and those of the Apostolicke times, then yet you have done, or till you have answered those Arguments, by which, as I perswade my selfe, I have made it appear, that it cannot be done.

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Resp.

As for the two places concerning the Popes and Councils Infallibility, it is not to my purpose to meddle of them, because of one side the way I have begun, beareth no need of those discourses, and on the other, I should engage my selfe in Quarrels betweene Catholique and Catholique, obscure the matter I have taken in hand, and profit nothing in my hearers, more then to be judged, peradventure to have more learning, then wisdom to governe it withall.

Repl.

With your favour Sir, these places concerne not onely questions between your selves, but between you and us, for I thought you had all agreed (though I knew you had not alwaies done so, and though it seemes by your declining to speak about it, that you doe not yet) that generall Councils, confirmed by the Pope, are infallible, and the Doctrines defined by them, are to be beleaved *de fide*, which if you be not, then the Glew, which it is so braggd, you have to keepe you still at Unitie, is dissolved and if you be, then you should both have answered upon what grounds you are so, and have destroyed my Objections against the possibilitie of certaintie, knowing when it is, that these (which used to be called the Church) have defined: finding therefore *Alum Silentium*, where there was so much cause of speaking, makes me beleeve, that the cause why you have not answered is, onely because you could not, and then you have a ready Apologie, that *Nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*, which I beleeve the rather, because I know, that to so cleare a judgement as yours,

that

that place of Scripture, *When two or three are gathered together, &c.* which is so often press'd for the Infallibilitie of Councils, must appeare to make as much for the Synod of *Dort*, as for the Councell of *Trent*, and to so great a learning as yours, it cannot be unknown how few (if any) of the Ancients have asserted their Infallibilitie, and how many, both of the Ancients, and your Modernes, have denied it; I am confirmed in this beleife too, because you, I know, would never have accepted that as a sufficient excuse from me, if I had avoided to answer an Argument so, because Protestants are not agreed upon the point, if you had thought it such, as that they ought to have been agreed upon it, and truelie this is as great and considerable a question, as any among us.

Resp.

As for the two places of Fevardentius, which alloweth many Fathers to have fallen into errors, I thinke it will not trouble him who is acquainted with the course of this present Church, wherein divers, who be thought great Divines, fall into errors, for which their Bookes are sometimes hindered from the print, sometimes recalled, or some leaves commanded to be pasted up, the reason is, the multiplicity of Catholike Doctrine which doth not oblige a man to the knowledge of every part, but to the prompt subjection of the instruction of the Church; wherefore many men may hold false doctrine inculpably, not knowing it to be such, even now after the learned labours of so many that have stroved to open and facilitate by Method, what is true, and what is false,
much

Repl.

much more in the Fathers times, when there was great want of so many Compilers as these latter ages have produced.

First, What *Fevardentius* confesseth, proves plainlie that, for which I intended it, which was, the ridiculousnesse of proving their Doctrine to be true, by being conformable to that of the Fathers, and yet making themselves Judges of those Judges they appeale too, and confessing, that many of them erred in many points, which if they did, they might as well doe the same in those about which we differ, although they agreed with you, and dissented from us.

Secondlie, What both he confesseth, and you confesse with him, disproves that way of knowing divine Truths which you propose, for neither the Doctors of the ancient Church (who were sure more likelic to know what was then taken for Tradition, then any late Compilers) nor of the Modern, who had a mind to deliver truth, and trac'd and followed your way of finding it, could erre in points of faith, if *Qui docet ut didicit*, he that teacheth as he hath been taught, must still be in the right, for publique Tradition, no learned man, at least can be ignorant, nor any man (say you) of what he was taught when a Childe, as the substance of his hopes for all eternitie, and so cannot in reason have his books either forbidden or pasted up, for delivering any thing contrary to it.

Secondly, Who are these Censors who forbid and paste up books, certainly not the Universall Church

Church, nor yet the Representative, the latter is not alwaies in being, nor when it is, at leasure to consider and judge all authors, and of the first these Authors are a part, if then they be fallible, (as they must be if they be not the Church) why may not they erre, and the Martyr-books speake truth, which yet will easily by this meanes be kept from Posteritie, if those in the Dictatory Office dissent from it as they will be sure to do, if the opinion contradict never so little the power or greatnesse of the Pope, upon whose favour these Oecumenicall Correctors must depend, or they not long remaine in their places: and yet you expect that your adversary should produce succession of their opinions in all ages, though nothing be let passe but what a few please, and though when in time all of you are agreed (as you will soon be or appear to be, if one side appear to be gag'd) then this consent, though thus brought about, becomes the consent of the Church, and a very notable Motive.

And since you say, that what all are bound to, is onely a prompt subjection to the Church, why leave you it so in doubt, what is the Church, as if men were tyed to be subject, but must not know to what, you say indeed, that the adherers to the Church of *Rome* are now the Church, but what they may be, you will not plainly declare; So that if a Schisme among them should happen, we are all as farr to seek as if you had been wholly silent, for since the infallibility lies not in the particular Church of *Rome*, and consequently the adhering

ring to her is not ever a sufficient note of the Church, (as you will not say) nor is it among your selves *de fide*, since the Universall Church (whatsoever she be) can never define any thing, and of the authority of the definitions of the Representative, and of what constitutes both her and her decrees, you refuse to speak, what remains there, to which this prompt subjection is to be the onely everlasting Note of the true Church, but onely the Truth whensoever she appears; Thus as the Priests of *Apollo* (therefore peradventure called *Loxias*) used to spread lies, and secure his reputation, the first by the antiquity, and the second by the darknesse of his Oracles, so doth your Religion gaine upon many men, and secure her self from many objections, by the manyfold acceptions, and consequently difficulty of this tearme Church; For whatsoever is said in Scripture concerning her being free from all spot, or prevailing against the gates of Hell, or their danger who resist her, the first meant (as I believe, and the place denies not by any circumstance) of the Church Triumphant, the second of the Church of the Elect, and the third, of the Professors of Christianity in generall, or at most of those who are in all necessary points Orthodox among them; That they without sufficient prooffe resolve to be spoken of the Church in their sence they have fancied; That is, some ever known body of Christians which must be still guide to the rest, and then claime to be that, because no other (all else being more ingenious) claimes it besides themselves, whereas

whereas, if (considering that ἀρχὴ παρασκευῆς ἢ οὐκ ἐνο-
ματων ὁμιουμένης, and the Oraculous truth of my great
Lord Bacon's observation, that unlesse men in the
beginning of their disputes agree about the mean-
ing of their tearmes, they must end about words,
where they ought to have begun) they had mark-
ed what other sence these words were capable of,
(for if it will here beare another, then this cannot
hence be concluded but by leave) they would
then soon have seen the weaknesse of their building,
by the slighnesse of their foundation. Againē,
they prevaile much by working upon mens assents,
by the meanes of their modesties, and presse it to
be an intollerable pride to oppose their opinions
to the consent of the Catholick Church; whereas,
if it be weighed how small a part of it they
mean by that word, and yet of them how many
follow blindly the decrees of one, and how soon
those prevaile against that few not backed by any
power who do not, it will then appeare, that not
onely other Churches, but even a *John* or a *Tho-*
mas have as much reason to be lead by their own
understandings, as by the opinions and decrees
of and *Urban* or a *Gregory*, upon which that con-
sent is so often founded; And as they make their
advantage of this word in their offensive warres,
so do they in their defensive, for when they are
press'd unto the absurdity of their Tenets; then
(though indeed they be generall) yet they pretend,
that they are the opinions but of private, though
many men, and not of the Church; and againē,
when any Fathers (who yet sometimes they say

are wholly theirs) are shewed to contradict some of their Doctrines so plainly, that none of those subterfuges, which in one of their expurgatory Indexes, they confesse they often use, will serve to palliate it; then they strive to scape by answering, that the Church had not then defined it; whereas if it be examined, how farre they consent about what is the Church, and what are her Definitions (whereof they are not yet agreed; for some say, she hath defined what, others say, she hath not) this onely will be certainlie found, that it never can be certainlie found, what are her opinions of any point; or when she hath declared her selfe: As (besides manie other Arguments, some pres'd by my selfe, and others, by other Pens more fit to treat of so weightie a matter) appears by your refusing to leave your *Litibula*; and declare plainlie your opinion concerning it, which if you saw defensible, and you were all agreed about it, you would quicklie have done, and not incurred the reprehension of that Axiome, which teacheth, that *Doctus versatur in generalibus*, which makes me thinke, that if this were generalie enough mark'd, you would no longer be able to dazle any mans eyes with the splendid title of Sonnes to the Catholique Church; as Alexander hoped to doe those of the Barbarians, with fitting himselfe *Pater Δις*, the Sonne of Jupiter, although indeed he was so much the more moderate then the second, as never to denie, that any other could be Sonne to the same Father; whereas you will not allow, that any may have interest in your Mother besides your selves.

To conclude this Paragraph, give me leave to aske one question, and that is, how your saying, that Truth is more easie to finde now then in the Fathers times, will agree, either with the way which you say, is the onely Catholique one to finde Truth by (for sure such a Tradition was alwaies equallie easie to finde, and if the first ages had erred in it, we must of necessitie, following your advice, have followed their error too) or with the saying of so many of your side, that if I should reckon them up, I should make a Catalogue of Authors, equall to those of *Photius*, or *Gesner*, or *Posservine*, who all joyne, that Truth was most likeliest to be most certainlie known that time, which was, in *Campians* words, *Christo propior, ab hac lite remotior*; neerer to Christ, and consequentlie to Tradition, and to which, for that cause, all thinke fit to appeale against us, or with that custome of your Church, which suffers none to take Orders before they have vowed to interpret Scriptures according to the Fathers; which if men now adaies be more likeliest to find the Truth, then at that time they were (as they must be, if truth in this age be more easie to be found, whether through greater abundance of Compilers, or what else soever) then this Vow is as much, as if they had vowed to leave the best way of Interpretation and teaching, to follow the worst.

As for the two points, he saith, avert him from Catholique doctrine, I am mistaken, if he be not mistaken in both. The first is, that the Catholiques doe damne all who are not in the Union of

Resp.

The Lord of Faulklonds Reply.

their Church. He thinkes the sentence hard, yet I thinke he will not deny me this, that if any Church does not say so, it cannot be the true Church. For call the Church what you will; the Congregation of the Elect, the Congregation of the Faithfull, the Congregation of Saints, or Just; call it, I say, or define it what you will, doth it not clearly follow, that whosoever is out of the Church cannot be saved, for he shall not be the Elect, Just, Faithfull, &c. without which there is no salvation. How then can any Church maintain these two Propositions, I am the true Church, and yet one may be saved without being in me:

Repl.

This is, by your favour, a meere Paralogisme; for though those who define the Church by qualities, which both Parts agree, to be the conditionall Keyes to the Kingdome of Heaven, must needs affirme, that none out of the Church can be saved, yet what is this to them, who meane by the Church, the Companie of the Orthodox in all points, and by them your selves, out of which (allowing that there be such a one, which I doubt of, and that to be yours) I shall beleeve, that some may be saved, till I see some more cause to thinke all error in Religion alwaies damnable, which it is plaine, by what after you say, that you thinke not your selfe, and the Church taken in this sence, which is your sence, may maintaine both Propositions; or to shew you, how much, what you say, would make against your selfe, thus I argue; The true Church must hold that none can be saved out of her, but your Church denies not, but that some
out.

out of her may be saved, therefore yours is not the Church: My *Major* is included in your own saying, that those two Propositions are not maintainable together: My *Minor*, though false, yet is also your confession (where you say, that the Churches Proposition is not so cruell as it seemes, though the words be rough) and therefore so ought you to make my conclusion too: Besides, those who exclude all from Salvation, who are out of the Church in the other sence, meaning by it the Elect, as they are not like them in the wrong, so they are not occasion of much harme, like them, who stiling the Church, a companie of men of such a beleife, and under such a government, affirme an impossibilitie of being saved out of it; for they giving no visible signe of who is in the Church (for who can know the Elect, but the Electer) cause no want of Charitie, nor frequencie of Warre, and persecutions by it, as the others doe, who having made first a visible partition, least those who are out of it may draw others out too, they send them out of the world by way of prevention.

But per adventure he is scandalized, that the Catholick Church requireth actuall Communion external with her, which he thinketh may in some case be wanting without detriment of Salvation. But how would he have the Church speake, which speaketh in common, but abstracting from such particular cases as may change wholly the Nature of the Question.

Resp.

I am scandalized, not because you require to Salvation

Repl.

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vation joining with you in Communion, but because
 also you require joyning with you in opinions, and
 if it were onely this, yet am not I any whit satisfied
 with what you say for it, for with the true
 Church, that is the Company of true belie-
 vers, in points any way materiall (or rather the
 truest) I conceive it not damnation sometimes not
 to communicate: For if they have any never so
 slight errors, and which appears so to me, which
 yet they will force me to subscribe to, if I Commu-
 nicate with them, my assent would be damnable, or
 if they require the same subscription to some truths,
 which yet after my reall indeavours in inquiry, ap-
 pear errors to me, I doubt not but my refusall is
 no way damnable: Neither can I absolve your
 Church concerning this her saying for your reason,
 because she speaks in generall, wholly abstracting
 from particulars, which change the nature of the
 Question, for why doth she so, why doth she not
 expresse her exceptions, or at least tell us, that the
 rule is not so generall, but that it will beare some,
 and not make men (who know not that she intends
 to reſtraine at all, what she so absolutely pronoun-
 ceth, and who will find no cause to take your
 bare word for her intentions) many times, at least
 to hate them as Gods enemies, whom he loves as
 his friends, and beleeve them to fry in Hell, who
 shine in Heaven: Howsoever if she use to expresse
 herself in rougher words then her meaning is, how
 apt may she be to be mistaken in severall of her re-
 solutions, and consequently how easie is it for
 some age to have misunderstood the past, and de-
 ceive

ceive the following : Neither do I like your example, because that is not to differ from the Church, but to mistake her meaning, though even he, who should denie that there were three Gods, if he thought that by the Trinitie your Church so meant, must consequently think her not infallible, and so by your grounds be consequently a Heretick.

The current of Catholick Doctors that no man shall be damned for infidelity, but he who doth wilfully misbelieve, and that to do so it is required that Faith be sufficiently proposed unto him, and what is to be sufficiently proposed, is not determined amongst them. There wanteth not Divines who teach that even ignorantia affectata, doth excuse from Heresie. On the other side it is most certaine, that no man is damned for not professing, what he is not damned for not believing. Wherefore, profession being that which engrafteth a man exteriorly in the Church, according unto the ordinary opinions of the Catholicks, it followeth, that no man is condemned for not being of the Church, who is not for infidelity, for which it is a very uncertaine Case who be damned, and who be not.

Resp.

As the King of Spaine, after long calling the Hollanders Rebels, at last for his own sake descended to treat with them as free States, so those of your Religion, when they hope to gaine a Profelitte, thunder out to him cruelty, and without any of these Mollifications which you now use, that *extra Ecclesiam Romanam nulla est salus*, there is no salvation out of the Roman Church. And Master Knot peremptorily avers, that no Catholick

Repl.

tholick of an entire fame ever taught, that a Protestant so dying could be saved, yet when they are press'd with the consequences, they can (as it seems) vouchsafe to give us better words, and find *many more* enough to soften this opinion, though such as bring them more disadvantage in other considerations, then help in this. For first, as before it seemed that you are not fully agreed either about the authority of the councils, or what constitutes the Church, (by your avoiding to speak concerning it) so now it seemes, that neither are you resolved of what constitutes an Heretick, and then what remains there-for you to know, if what you account infallible and what damnable, be yet both uncertaine to you.

Secondly, Since you confesse none to be a Heretique, but he to whom the truth is sufficiently proposed, and when that is, you are not resolved: what a more then *Sythian* Barbarousnesse is it to make a coale of a Christian, onely upon suspicion of Heresie? especially since the *Pagans* themselves had Christian Charity enough to perswade them, that it was much better that a guilty person should escape, then an innocent be punished: much more should you rather suffer the tares to grow, then venture to pluck up the corne with it, and beleve the best, when the truth lies hid in a place so hard to search into, as is the heart of man, into which (as none entered the *Sanctum Sanctorum* but the High Priest) God onelie can have admittance.

Resp.

The other point was of putting Hereticks to death,
which

which I think he understandeth to be done vindicatively, not medicinally; I mean, imposed as a punishment, and not in way to prevent mischiefe, and oppresse it in the head.

Repl.

I suppose it small satisfaction to a poor man, carried to the stake for his Conscience, to know by which member of a distinction he is put to death, and that this as little excuseth you, as it satisfies them, I hope to shew before we have ended the consideration of this present Paragraph.

Resp.

If the Circumcelians were the first, that is, ancient enough for the justification of the fact, although for Banishment, which also he seemeth to reprehend, we know the first that could suffer it did suffer it, Arrius I mean, by the hand of Constantine, whom he praiseth for a speech he uttered before he knew the consequence of the danger, and seemeth to reprehend for his after and better wits.

Repl.

I wish to you what Erasmus wisheth to Augustinus Steuckius, which is, that you were but equall in probando diligens, as you are in asseverando fortis: For how unlikely is it that we should give you credit without prooffe onely, *amodūq; q̄erit n̄ d̄p̄o*, that the antiquity of a thing, which began so long after Christs Apostles, were all dead, is enough to prove it lawfull: Howsoever it would at most but prove it lawfull, to put such Hereticks to death, as force men to do so in their owne defence, for such were they: Besides I object not onely against this custome the not being ancient, (for I confesse there might have been before a power to do so too, though not used to the uttermost,

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though

though in likelihood what perswaded you to use it, would have perswaded them to the same, if they had thought they had it) but as being also condemned by *Hilary*, and *Athanasius*, and other Orthodox: For though some punishment of a lesse degree were inflicted upon others too by their own side, (as you truite instance) when their power prevailed; yet *Constantine* saies, not onely in an Edict for libertie of opinions, (which he, who was then Pope never appeared to Romack; as his successor, undoubtedly would now doe the like) *μὴ τις πρὸς ἑτέρου παρενοχλήτω* *ἄλλος δὲ ὅτις ἢ ἄλλος ἐξουσίαν ἑσέτω* *ὡς ἐθέλει*, let no man trouble another, but let every one do as his own soule will: but also gives this concluding reason against you for it, *ὅτι οἱ τοὶ τὸν* *ὡς Ἀθανάσιος ἔδωκεν ἐκείνους ἐπακατέστηκεν*, *ὅτι τὸ μὴ πειρασθεῖν ἐπαπαγγέλλεται*. For it is one thing willingly to take upon them this combat for immortality, and another to force them to it with punishment; and so in whatsoever he did contrary to this in any case, wherein this reason held his words, condemne his action: And whereas you say, that when *Constantine* made so slight of the question between *Aryius* and *Alexander*, it was, because he knew not the consequence of the danger: I shall desire to know of you whether you must not confesse, that there is now no King of your Religion so ill instructed in it, (though none of them be never so learned or curious as *Constantine* was, who, if any man in his dominion should arise, denying Transubstantiation, would not presently know the danger of the consequence, and resolve him for

for an Heretick, and to the stake instantly, and not
 speak against his opinion onelie as impertinent, and
de lana caprina, and *ut in quibus*, and if this had been
 as resolved a thing then among Christians, to
 have come from Tradition, as Transubstantiation
 is now amongst Papists, he would necessarilie as
 soon have discovered it too: Howsoever I be-
 lieve his after-wits to have been his worser wits,
 in punishing, though not in condemning of *Arius*,
 and to me it yet seemes (for to be sure, not to speak
 Heretically, I will not speak obstinately) that to
 have laboured in stopping of disputes on both
 parts, and tying them to Scripture Phrases, and
 to speak of God onelie in the Word of God,
 had been at least in respect of Unity, not a worse
 way; then to have given an example to what after
 followed; I mean, the frequent explication (with
Anathema to boot) of inexplicable misteries;
 Neither would then so many questions have so
 long troubled the Church, which for their sligh-
 tnesse were unworthy ever to exercise the Schooles;
 But for that or any other meer error, as it may
 be for ought any one knowes, unlawfull in any to
 punish at all, I by no meanes like not to put to death,
 for the same seemes to me it self *ad mortem deducere* & *ut*
non bonum, a sin above measure sinful, though even
 the act of it proceeded from an opinion of doing
 God some service, and that opinion from a meer
 error too, then I conceive but a materiall no for-
 mally sin for the same cause, and so, neither this
 materiall Murderer, nor that materiall Heretick,
 be guilty before God, who onely can distinguish,

and to whom it is fit to be left. Howsoever the long doubt of some, and opposall of other Orthodox to this course, and that arising not from their Policie or Compassion, but their Conscience, not as thinking it unprofitable or unfit, but unlawfull, shews, that there was then no Tradition that the Apostles taught it to be lawfull so to use Hereticks, upon which onelie, all the Infallibilitie, which you claime for any beliefe or custome of your Church, is founded,

Resp.

Saint Austine justifieth such proceedings against Hereticks.

Repl.

Truely for putting them to death (unlesse when they first assaulted) which makes a wide difference, for then it was not done as to Hereticks, but as to *Assassines*, from whom Nature teaches us to defend our selves, and consequentlie to re-offend them whensoever Religion barres it not, experience shewing us the danger of meerly defending, to be neerer to that too, of not doing it at all. I know not that ever he did, nor do I beleve it: That some degree of punishment should be inflicted upon them, I confesse he at last consented, but chiefly to force them to come and see what the Church did, (whose actions the Hereticks impudently belied, as if they set pictures upon the altar, and did what you both doe and defend, and they did not) *i. e.* denied it. Howsoever we have Saint *Austine* against Saint *Austine*, and not onely his authority, but his reasons more valid by much, then that when he saith, that such oppressions would make them think themselves *in victos*,

non veritate convictos, overcome by force, not convicted by Truth, and consequently dislikes it, *ne fectos Catholicos habeamus, quos apertos Hereticos novimus*, least they become from open Heretics, but fained Catholicks: Reasons, which (though these be not all we have) in my opinion it was as impossible for him reasonably to answer when he was living, as it would be now for him to do it when he was dead. Besides, as he useth these strong arguments against it, so he is himself a strong example against it, for the Church had lost this her so notable Champion, if they then had been as severe to the *Manichees* as you are to us.

Saint Gregory useth the like against Pagans, (if I remember) and the Church laterly hath rather encreased, then decreased in the practice of it. Resp.

I believe your memory deceives you in this, which you have cause to hope it doth, for else the Church of *Rome* differs from that of *Saint Gregories* times, it being now with her a judged case, that Infidels may not be compelled to the Faith, as I am told is shewed by *Valentia*, *Saint Thomas*, *Hartado*, and others, the Church having no power over those who are out of it, and therefore they please to say, that (like them who among the *Romans* were onely *Cives ad onera*, liable to the taxes of Citizens, without Interest in their Priviledges) Baptisme hath made us of the Church enough to be liable to her Punishments, though not to be benefitted by her Communion: Though indeed the same cause why you would have

have Hereticks put to death, for feare of harming others with their opinions, me thinks should extend to their punishment too, unlesse you believe us to be as bad as Malefactors, and not them, or that their opinions are so irrationall as not likely to spread, and ours so reasonable, that against them the sword is the best shield, and therefore (as *Brennus* did his) you put that into the scales for want of weight, it being of giving Reasons as the Poet saith it is of giving Requittalls, *Irasci quam donari vilius constat.*

Another reason which perswades me that you are mistaken in what you say of *Gregory*, (as this mistake facilitates my beliefe, that you are so about *Austines* too) is that *Bede* tells, that some *Romanists*, having converted the King of *Kent*, that King did not yet force any to become Christians, for (saith he) he had learned of these his Masters, that the service of Christ (WHICH REASON EXTENDS FARTHER THEN TO PAGANS) must be voluntary, and not forced; Now if these received what they taught from *Gregory*, (as you often tell us) then either he did not as you often say, or thought that unlawfull which himself did; And howsoever this Custome hath encreased since is very unconsiderable, for unlesse it have its authority explicite or implicite from the Apostles, it can give none since, and unlesse it be proved to be well done at first, no continuance can give this, or any other action more justification then at first is had.

Resp.

Moses speech I believe is mistaken, the force of

it

is being, that the banishment of Bishops shewed his faith, because the banished were Catholickes, which shewed Lucius to be none.

If Moses had meant as you would have him, he should not have said, onely ἡ ἐκκομιδή, but ἡ ἐκκομιδή τῆς κατὰ νόμον, not indefinitely the banishing of Bishops, but the banishing of Orthodox Bishops, the leaving therefore of that out, wherein, according to you, the whole sense of his Argument lay, seemes to me plainlie enough to shew, that he meant what they and you denie: especially he adding, (as you may see in Zozomon) their being punish'd by labour, as well as punishment, and then saying, ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαπᾷ, which things are whollie abhorring from Christ, and all right Beleevers concerning God, and in Socrates, δυνάμει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ ἀρετῇ, for Gods servant ought not to fight, for so he counted to punish.

Repl.

But what can be said, if the Church useth that for the prevention of a greater and more dangerous evil, which all politique Estates use for the remedies of lesse, and lesse dangerous evils, and are commended for it. For if Faith be the way to Salvation, and Heresie be the bane of Faith, if Salvation the greatest good, then the danger of a Countreys being over-runne with Heresie, is the greatest of dangers, greater then the multiplion of Theeves, greater then the unsurety of the wayes, greater then a Plague, or Invasion, why then doth not reason force us to use meanes to prevent it, which the same reason and experience teacheth us to be most efficacious in this, and all other

Resp.

other contagious and gangrening maladies of the Common-wealth. I hope reason it selfe, and the Zeale of the Author to his own, and Countries salvation, will supply my shortnesse in this point, for supposing a Church be assured she is in the right, and that the doctrine preach'd, as then leadeth to damination; I know not why Caiphas his words should not be propheticall in this case; and that truly it doth expedire, that *Unus moriatur pro populo, & non tota gens pereat.*

Repl.

I wish heartilie, you were as good a Caterer as a Cooke, I meane, that you brought as good reasons as you dresse artificiallie what you bring; For I finde there is in your words a verie notable *sermons*, able to steale a man into your opinion, before he hath askt himselfe why; but if he stay to doe so; then all your excellent embroiderie will not keepe him from discerning manie bracks in your stuffe: To prove which, I will bring many reasons (besides what I have taught already) by which it shall, I hope, appeare, why those, whom you call Hereticks, should not be put to death, although Malefactors may, although even the lawfulnessse of that (since other punishments, which would not shorten their time of repentance, might peradventure serve to repressse them) is not absolutelie certaine.

First, Malefactors plainlie offend against their Consciences, at least, thinke not themselves bound by them to commit their villanies (neither pretend they otherwise) which they, whom you call Hereticks, either *bona fide* follow, or doe for ought at least you can know.

Secondlie,

Secondlie; What are Malefices, must be known before Malefactors, and Heresies before Hereticks; now of the first Mankind agrees, but of the second but you onely, a small part of Christians, and yet you differ too about the waies of knowing them, and consequentlie, whether some things be Heresies or no (as for example, whether the Oath of Alleagiance containe any) wherein since some of you are deceived, me thinkes it should incline you to thinke it not impossible for you all to doe so, in what you all agree to be such.

Thirdlie; Malefactors are not, or should not be punished for such, without a plaine knowledge that such they are; but although there were an impossibilitie of mistaking what is Heresie, yet there is no possibilitie of knowing who are Hereticks, the forme of which is obstinacie, a secret, and (to man) an undiscoverable qualitie, whom he onelic should punish who onelic knowes.

Fourthlie; Malefactors are certaine to hurt others, whereas neither are Heretickes sure to perswade any, and if they doe, yet they may hurt none, since who receives their beleife *bona fide*, and through meer error, is unharmed by it.

Fifthlie; Whom they doe harme; it must be through their own fault, and by their own consent, whereas without either, the Malefactors are cause of much mischief, even to the most guiltlesse.

Sixthlie; Malefactors passing whollie unpunish'd, peradventure not put to death, would bring a certaine destruction to the state, which

temporall Magistrates are appointed to watch over, which yet in speculative opinions is not concerned.

Seventhly, The punishment even by death, of Malefactors brings not any temptation of sinning, upon them, the same to others is in all probability a cause to keep many from a carefull search of Gods Truth, (least they might find the punishable beleefe to be the true one) and from professing it, when they think they have found it; both which are sinns of the first magnitude.

Eighthly, This course with Malefactors was not, for ought appears, ever thought unlawfull in the purest times of Christianity, and was then in use, whereas towards errors in beleefe, it was disallowed of them by the chiefe and long before death was at all inflicted upon them, though then understood as well the danger of Heresie, and were as carefull to preserve their flocks from all danger by all lawfull waies, as any since.

Ninthly, It no way redounds to Christs Glory, that Malefactors be unpunishd, but it makes much for it, that his Army appears to consist of Volunteers, and not of Preisd men, that his Truth should prevaille by no humane force, but onely by the power of the first teacher, and the light of the Doctrine, which for us unbidden so to assist, is to think the Arke must fall, if we hold not forth our hands to hold it up, and takes from it the honour of subsisting by the way, by which it took roote, when (to borrow Saint Chrysostomes words)

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The weak were to hard for the strong, and twelve for the World, and that *quod non erant ad hoc*, They being naked, and their adversaries armed.

Tenthly, That death is the most effectually way to suppress Malefactors, you lay reason and experience shewes, and it is generally agreed of; but in this case it seems even to your best men the worst course, as appears by *Ibarranes* resolution concerning the *Hyper-Ephanians*, by the 267 Page of grave and judicious Cardinal *D'ossat* his Letters, by the Epistle of Cardinal *Richelieu* to his King before a Book of Controversie, and by *Erasmus* his Testimonie, who tells us, that a *Carmelite* having then this power in his hands, *Ubique sevitiam exercuit Carmelita, ibi disceres fuisse factum Haresum sementum*, wheresoever he exercised his cruelty, he seemed to have sowed Heresie. All which reasons make me beleieve, that there is much difference between the striving to destroy these two sorts of men, and if there were not, yet for fort-touched reasons, and others which I will touch at, I should as soone think it unlawfull to put Malefactors to death, as lawfully to kill Hereticks. For indeed since *ex hoc ubi est & quod tu non scis*, it disadvantageeth what you would aide, to seem to beleieve that truth, without other assistance, would not soone roote out fallshood, then that it, that the Orthodox are not more likely to cure the seduced, then to be infected by them; and that there is no way to end the Heresies, but by ending the Hereticks. And thus you runne into three inconveniencies.

First, You put reasonable scruples into considering mens minds, least as a *Greek Orator* saith against *Ulysses* for striking *Thersites*, τὸ μᾶλλον ἔχειν ἐλπίσιν ὁμολογῆσαι τὸ πῦρ. It was a signe he could not confute him, that he struck him; so that it be want of arguments, which makes you fall to blowes, and cause them to suspect, that if you were not (peradventure for some better reasons then appear to them) diffident of your cause, you would give your adversaries leave to speak as loud as them pleased, and not seek so suspiciously to stop their mouthes, whilst they dispute with you at as much odds, and upon tearmes of as much disadvantage as *Saint Paul* did with the *Grecian Jewes*, συνεζητεῖτε ὡς καὶ ἑλληνισταί, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντες αὐτὸν ἀνελθεῖν, he disputed against them, but they went about to stay him.

Secondly, It destroies those plausible Arguments so often used of Unity, and Tradition, and Multitude, for, first Uniformitie may be induced by power, but Unitie and Impunitie can never be parted; all other agreement being but as a theefe and a robbed person agreed, the one to take his purse, and the other to give it againe. Againe Tradition it lames as much, for how can any man tell, but that two parts claiming contrary Traditions, or one part claiming it upon false grounds, and the other denying it, the truth may not by this force have been over-born, when we receive not what men would have delivered Posteritie, but what Power would suffer them.

Againe, how shall we know but that the greater part

part of your multitude beleevs not as they professe; no man knowing his Neighbour to be of his mind; when it is so probable, that many may not think as they speak, when it is not lawfull for all to speak as they think.

Thirdly, By this way you are causes, that you suffer often where you have not the State on your side, as much as you inflict when you have; for though you will say that none should punish but the Church, yet every divided companie of Christians, thinking themselves to be that, (that is to be the orthodox) will use your own custome to your harme, and you will be shott like the Eagle in *Esopo*, *omnis mors*, with your own feathers; and so Truth weresoever she be (if all follow this way) will by force by many parties be opposed, and but by one propagated and defended; so that not onely in consideration of Christianity, but even of Policy I mislike this course, as being alwaies wicked, and often hurtfull, and more often uneffectual: And for my part, I desire so much that good be done for evill, that (though you be most fit of any to be so used, who use us so where your power extends, and whose cruelty will extend with your acquisition, if you make any, and you hold your selves, that *impedens periculum* is cause enough for a warr) yet I heartily wish all lawes against you repealed, and trust, that disarmed Truth would serve to expell Falshood, whereas now they being in force against you, give you the honour of a persecution, and not being executed, give you not the feare of one: It is truely said,

Militia

Militia Christiana est Hæreses expellere; but it needs this limitation, *sed armis Christianis*; that Christian warfare employ onely Christian armes, which are good arguments, and good life; else if they use such a course, as is more properly *ut in Regibus et in Christianis*, and go to force that part of man, which is liable to no power but that of perswasion, (which if it do not beget a true and pious assent, in likelyhood it will a damnable dissimulation, and which, if Christ had meant for a prop for his Doctrine, he would as soon have at first made it a part of the foundation, and have charged his Apostles not to shake the dust off their feet, but to draw their swords out of the scabbard at those, who rejected what they taught) then it often (though sometimes by reason of the different dispositions which reigne at severall times among men, and may happen otherwise) misseeth of the intended end, and works not often so much as upon mens tongues, and never upon their Heads and Hearts: A great example of which happened not long since, Calvin with all his works since the time they were written, having scarce made so many Protestants in France, as I have credibly heard it reported, that the Massacre made in a Night, which act though I impute not to all those of your Religion, for many of them I know did, and do mislike it, yet it both had its fountaine from the Popes Legate, (and consequently in all likelyhood from the Pope, who gave God publick thanks for it) as one of his successors confess'd to Cardinall D. Ossat, Page

432, and it may be justified as well as any judicial proceeding, upon that reason which you give, why Heresie may be stopped with the sword, least they who are wrought upon by it, may work upon others.

To conclude, I should be better contented with this course, if the opinions were infallibly errors, and infallibly damnable, and this were alwaies an effectuall way, (and no other could be found more mercifull) to stop their spreading, but since you have no infallible way of knowing the Church to be infallible in her definitions, and consequently, that the contrary opinions are false, since you know not infallibly which is she, (for you pretend but prudentiall Motives) since your knowledge having defined, is likewise fallible, as depending upon many uncertaine circumstances, since not onely the matter of Heresie is thus uncertaine, but the form too: for you confesse you doubt whether *Ignorantia affectata* be it or no, and since though the form were certaine, yet in whom, it is by no means plaine, but rather impossible to be known, (as who is obstinate, and consequently to whom it is damnable) since this course often gives growth, and strength to that, from which it would take even Being and Substantice: I cannot but think you have cause to change your proceedings, least not onely you expell not, but least you encrease Heresie, and againe least you oppose it not, but mistake the Truth for it, and applaud your self for cutting off a Gangren'd member, when you destroy a sound one, and instead of ending a Heretick

rick make a Martyr, and againe least (allowing this to be the Truth) yet you put to death innocent persons instead of guilty; especially since if the opinions were damnable in whomsoever they were, yet some better way might be found, (as close imprisonment or the like) to keep them from harming with them, rather then (as you do by putting them to death, when else they might live to be converted) to damne them certainly, least they may possibly damne some others; Again for Protestants, who joyne with me in beleiving that there is no way to know the true Church, but by true Doctrine, nor to know that but by the Scripture, (for Universall Tradition seemes to us to deliver nothing but what is so plainly contained there, that it is agreed upon) in them I beleieve it must be intollerable Pride, and rashnesse, (and the same in Papists concerning those places out of which they would prove the Churches infallibility) To conclude, this seemes to me the sence of this place of Scripture, therefore this infallibility it is, and no man can denie it, who either gainsaies not his Conscience, or hath it not mislead by some sinfull passion or affection, and therefore the deniers must be damned, and therefore least they damne others, we will send them through one fire to another. And this, though it be an equall fault in both Protestants and Papists to say and do, yet it is more Illogicall in the former, as contradicting at first sight all their Principles, and destroying the whole Platforme upon which the Reformation was built.

Resp.

He urgeth afterwards against the Unity of the Church, that it is none such as we brag of. And I confesse we brag of it, and think we have Reason. And if it please him to look into the difference of our Country of England, and some land of Barbarians, as Brasile, or such other, where they live without Law or Government, I think he will find our bragging is not without ground. For whereto is the difference betwixt a Civill Government and a Barbarous Anarchie? Is it either that in a Civill Estate there be no Quarrells, or amongst Barbarians there is no Quiet? The former would prejudice our Courts and Justice, the latter is impossible even in Nature. What is then the goodnesse of a government, but in a well Governed Country there is a means to end Quarrels, and in Anarchie there can be no assured peace? This therefore is it we brag of, that amongst us if any controversie arise, there is a way to end it, which is not amongst them who parted from us. And Secondly, That there is no assured agreement amongst those who parted from us, for although to day they agree, there is no bond or tie why to morrow they may not disagree. These two things we brag of, and I think the Author will not denie it. For he confesseth that we all agree, in that the Church is an infallible Mistresse. Then it is evident, that if in any controversie she interposeth her judgement, the controversie is ended. He likewise confesseth, that who part from us have no such definitive authority amongst them, and that Scripture, whereon they rely, hath no such vertue to take up Controversies clearly.

Supposing that we agreed much lesse then you, yet a little, all in earnest, that is unforced, is more considerable, then much constrained, and so peradventure much of that much but in appearance; Besides, that you all agree in those points, wherein if any disagree, he becomes none of you, is no more then is so common to all Religions, that even the very Anabaptists may say as much for themselves; For either all the Parts of them remaine of assent, insomuch that they are all still of the same Religion, and so agree as well as your *Dominicans* and *Jesuites*, or else their differences are such, as to make them of severall Religions, and then, why is want of Unity objected to them any more then it is to Christians in generall, among whom are so many divisions, and yet not the whole, but the faulty party taxed? And truly in my opinion some Questions among your selves are as great, not onely as any among your adversaries, but as any between you and them. I but you answer, we have a way of being agreed, we reply, is it a way sure to lead to Truth as well as to Unity, or else so might we have by going to most at three throwes, and resolving to stand to that. Besides, if you have, and make no more use of it, it seemes there is no such need that Questions be ended, as for that purpose to introduce a necessitie of an Ender. But say you, neither are all suits in the Common-wealth ended; We reply, that yet truly those Judges, who should make no more haste to end them, then your Judge doth these, would deserve to loose his place, but this they do

do as fast as the nature of the thing will permit; which being or depending upon matter of Fact, cannot be known enough to be judged before examination of witnesses, and the like, be ended, and if they willingly deferre the ending, they are confess'd to be in fault by all men, but those who hold Perjury to be none. But you seem to conceive our grounds faulty, as not leading even to a possible Unity, whereas to a possible one I am sure they do, (since what is concluded out of them by many, may be by all) nay indeed am confident, that all who receive the Scripture for the onely rule, and believe what is there plain to be onely necessarie, would if they truly beleaved what they professe, and were not lead aside either by prejudice, or private ends, or some Popish relicks of holding what they have long been taught, or following the authority of some by them much esteemed, persons either alive (or dead) soon agree in as much as is necessarie, and in concluding no necessity of agreeing in more, there being no doubt, but it would soone appear plainly what is plaine.

Besides if no grounds be sufficient for Unitie, which produce not the effect, then it seemes, the grounds of your grounds, those Arguments, by which you prove, that there is a Judge, and a generall Councell is it, are insufficient, since they are not able to make all Christians about this question: Again, although a Judge, and this Judge be received, yet this is still an insufficient ground for Unitie, since the *Greek* Church agree thus farre with you (which is as farr as you agree with

one another) and yet are not so bound by it to any universall Unitie with them; but that they esteem you Hereticks, and are esteemed so by you: and if you say, that it is not, because the grounds, upon which the Infallibilitie of the Church are built, lead not sufficientlie to Unitie, that we joyne not with you in believing them to be infallible, nor because the determination of generall Councils is not a sufficient meanes of Unitie; that the Greek Church admitting their authoritie, admits not of your opinions, but it is the fault of us (and of them) hardening our hearts against the truth; then we may as well say, that some of those, who agree in our grounds, yet disagree from our doctrine; not that the grounds lead not to Unitie, but that our Adversaries will not be lead; or if (as you doe) and some others of you sometimes you confesse, that they through an innocent error dissent from you, and doe this without any imputation in this respect to your grounds, I hope it will be lawfull for us to allow the same possibilitie, without any disadvantage or prejudice to ours. Besides, say you, though we agree to day, yet we may not to morrow, which to prove, were *quantum ad hoc adversariis*, paines whollie lost, we confesse. For though Tully make it an expression of his contempt to *Piso*, in an Epistle to *Atticus*, *Ita nihil est, ut plane quid erit, nesciat*, yet I take it to be a true saying of man in generall, who knowes little of present things, and nothing of future; but this is common to us both, for if we change not our opinions, we shall agree as we doe, and if you change

change yours you shall not, which is possible, for not onelie that opinion of the Infallibilitie of your judges decrees may it self be altered, which holdeth together all the rest, but some of you may holding that ground (like the Greek, either change their opinions concerning the authority of such or such a Councell, as beleeving it unduelie called, factiouslie carried, or not generall as is pretended, or not so consenting as is requisite) or differ from the rest, concerning the sense of the decrees: for whe eas, you say, you agree that the Church is an infallible Mistresse, and when she interposeth her judgement, the controversie is ended.

I answer, that, first, some of you, with whom I have spoken my selfe, hold, that the Churches authoritie in defining, extends no further then to such points, whereof Tradition is of one part (as in many controverted there is, I beleve, no such) and that this rule she may transgresse, and so erre.

Secondlie, Neither the *Dominicans* nor their Adversaries, are very readie to remain in suspence to await her decision, but define all readie concerning her definitions, *Cum utraque pars tenax contendat suam non aliam posse definiri sententiam*, either part tenaciouslie urging, that the contrarie opinion cannot be defined, which if they did to fright the Pope from defining, least the condemned partie being even before, should after make a Schisme, they obtained their end.

Thirdlie, What are you the nearer to Unitie for your Infalible Mistresse the Church, when
you

you neither agree of any certaine and proper markes to know her by, nor when it is that she interposeth her judgement; some take it to be the particular Church of *Rome*, others (of which number you are) all which communicate with her, supposing the first to be true, yet not being *de fide*, it will serve but ill by your rules to build our faith upon, and even when she delivers her opinion is not certainlie agreed, whether the people of *Rome* be to have Votes, or onelie the Clergie, or of them, onelie the Pope with the Cardinals, or the Pope onelie without them, if the Pope, whether onelie in his Chaire, and what circumstances are required to his decreeing in *Cathedra*, would beget more questions: If all that communicate with her (as you say, it is as things now stand.)

First, I would know whether they be sure to be at all times the Church, to that you refuse to determine, and so inclusivelie denie.

Secondlie, It is not possible, that such a multitude should ever give any sentence explicitelie, nor can we ever know, that it hath even tacitelie done so, if they be to decree onelie by representation, then how large a companie represents them with all their power, of whom that companie is to consist, how many of them are to agree to make it a binding sentence, &c. are things yet undefined, and like to be, and if any goe about to determine them, their power being it selfe still a question, could not end these: Therefore, whereas you say, that we have no definitive sentence
(be-

(besides that truly to have one, and not to know when we have one, is much alike ;) I answer, that whensoever the Scripture shall seeme to us to have defined, we are according to our doctrine readie to yeeld, and so the controversie is ended (and sure the Scripture may be said to be a definitive sentence, as well as the written Councell of *Trent*) and till then, though we differ about interpretations of not plaine places, we have as much Unitie as you, who are not relolved upon the sence of manie decrees of that and other Councils : and if a desire and diligence to finde the true meaning of them, and an aptnesse to assent when it is found, be thought to secure among you, those who mistake the true sence of these Councils, why should not the same disposition in us towards the Scripture, be thought every whit as sufficient, not onely to keepe us in unitie, but to secure us from danger.

To conclude, though unitie be a thing much spoken of by you, yet I finde it chieflie onely in your discourse ; your differences are many and great, onelie you say you agree in what is necessarie, and make the measure of things necessarie what you agree in, so the summe is, you agree in what you doe agree (which it is impossible you should not, though you had carried away the bayes from *Bibrias* his Tombe) eager against us, and yet divided among your selves, like the state of an Armie in *Tacitus* ; *Manente Legionum auxiliorumque, ubi adversus Paganos certandum foret, consensu*, and if your Church brag of such an Unitie,

Unity, I perceive a small matter will make her brag.

Resp.

Againe, I do confesse most English-men confesse a Trinity, the Incarnation and Passion of our Saviour, but if to morrow, any one or more of them light upon some Book of an Arrian, Trinitarian, or other Sect, so wittily written that he putteth probable solutions for the places of Scriptures, shewes slight waies how our well meaning fore-fathers may have slipped into such an Error, what is there to retaine those men from disagreeing with the rest of their Bretheren, and betake themselves to the Arrians? And when the heat is past light upon some Rabbi, who shall cunningly exaggerate the absurdities, (as he shall tearm them) of the Trinitie, Incarnation; Say our Saviour did strange things in vertue of some Constellation, and delivering these things so Oratorically, that for a new heat, some of these things shall seem more conformable then his Arrianisme, what then shall hinder this man to become a Jew, and at last to prove himself so great a Clerk as to write de tribus Impostoribus: Take away the power of the Church, which every man doth who taketh away the Infallibility, what can retaine any man why he should not yeeld to that discourse which seemeth fairest, seeing nothing is certaine?

Repl.

And if you should meet with a book which should give probable solutions to the places of Scripture, and reasons which you now think prove the authority of the Church, and bring other (though suppose but slight, yet such as may seem strong) Arguments to prove it not infallible, and shew

shew waies of the same kind, how your ancestors may have slipt in that, and by that into other errors, what is there to retaine you with the rest of your Bretheren, and betaking your selfe to us? If you say this is impossible to be done, so think the Protestants, that the *Arrians* can give them no probable answer to their places of Scripture, and such as will seem so to some, is no imputation to their grounds, since so may, and do our Answers and Objections to some of you, who thereupon leave you, and yet you count not your grounds disparaged. For my part, I professe my self not onely to be an Anti-Trinitarian, but a Turk, whensoever more reason appeares to me for that, then for the Contrary, and so sure would you be too; for the pretended infallibility of your Church could no longer hold you, if you thought you saw reason to beleeve it fallible, as you must do, if all weighed, more reason appeared of her adversaries side, either your proofes of her authority not to be probable, or else your Doctrinestaught by her, more contrary to reason, then her authority (though probably founded, yet not upon demonstrations) is sufficient to caution, and answer for; It is true, so long as you stick to this hold upon the *Roman* Church, you are sure to receive no error, but which she offers you, (and indeed you need not, for those are enough) but that destroyed (which is apter to be destroyed then most of the Protestants, as weaklier supported by reason) then no error that a Protestant may fall into, but so may you too, and the other is but such a

Priviledge, as I may have by sticking to the *Eng-lish* Church, as well as you to the *Roman*; And though this following your guide, may be able, as long as she keep her self, to keep you from some Ditches, into which you might otherwise fall, yet it may lead you unto others, and indeed there is no error but by this way you are liable too, yea, even of those which she now condemnes, since though she changed her opinion, which is neither impossible, nor unlawfull, yet you are by your blind obedience to believe that she had not, and to submit your understanding in this Question to some distinction, though without a difference. These things then I dislike in what you say.

First, Your saying, as though there is nothing to retain a Protestant from being of any error, when it shall appeare more probable to him then Truth, therefore there were nothing to keep him from those errors, whereas you should have considered, that the greater probabilities may serve reasonably to hold him without a demonstration, and the evidence of the thing, without a guide, and that if those be not ground enough for a man to fix upon, in how ill estate are those of your Church, in the Question concerning the Church, in which they follow no guide, nor have any demonstration, but professe they yeeld to her authority, but upon prudentiall motives, which kind of arguments sure may as well, and as fixedly preserve a Protestant in an Orthodox opinion against a Heretick, as the authoritie of the Church no surer lier founded, can you against us : That every man should

should yeeld to that discourse which seemeth fairest to him, I confesse, it is alwaies, not onelie safe and fit, but also necessarie, even for them who receive the Infallibilitie of the Church, since those who beleeve that, beleeve it, because that appears fairest to them, and as you object to us, the possibilitie of being perswaded from the truth by some wittie Author, why thinke you not the same Author may possible too, appeare to you to destroy your prudentiall Mouves, and so consequentlie your whole Faith, which is built upon the Church, which is built upon them.

Secondlie, I dislike your seeming to beleeve, that any grounds, which are not demonstraive, are too slipperie to rest upon, as not onelie being contrarie to reason, but to your selfe, who told me before, that no more was required, then a maine advantage on one side, and that we had reason to be satisfied with Probabilities to guide our Actions in Religion, or since by them we were content to regulate all the other Actions of our life.

Thirdlie, I dislike in your own parties behalfe your saying, that a *Protestant* is in good likelihood to turne *Arrian* (for if you meane onelie that it is possible, it concernes you as much as them) since this seemes to inferre, that the Scriptures doe make more probable for them (which if they did, it is not Heresie) and to contradict all those, whom both parts call Fathers, who thinke enough plaine in Scripture, not onely to keepe, but also to convert men from *Arrianisme*, as it appears,

by their employing so solelie those Armes against them, that they needed the admonition of a Heretique, to counsell them to the use of another.

Fourthlie, I dislike your saying, that after being made an *Arrian*, he is not unlikeli to turne *Few*, especiallie, that he is likeli to be perswaded by any exaggeration of the Absurdities in the Trinitie, since both *Grotius* and other Authors, seeme to say, that the *Fewes* have their Trinitie too in the same Notion, and howsoever the *Arrian* is so fullie perswaded alreadie, that those are absurdities (that perswasion being almost the forme of that opinion which constitutes him an *Arrian*) yet the exaggeration of them can never worke upon him; And for the Constellation you speak of, it were so irrationall, and so unprovable a Crotchet, that no Oratorie could ever make it seeme to a reasonable man, to have any inclination to fence (and a foole may be made beleieve any thing, how contrarie soever to his grounds) unlesse he be of those, who are given over to vaine imaginations, because they love darknesse better then the light, and the fault of no particular mens understanding or will, is to lead any man to condemne his grounds, for they are to be accused, not of whatsoever he concludes who holds (or rather in this case hath held) them, but onelie of what he concludes reasonable according to them. Besides, for this cause it appeares strange to me, that trusting to Scripture alone, and without, meaning the Church, for my certaine guide, should bring a man into danger of parting with his Christianitie, since

since nothing can hold a man longer then he beleeves it, and as long as our ground, the Scripture, is by him beleeved, no man can possible turne either *Atheist*, or *Jew*; and he who leaves to beleeve your ground, the Church, cannot by that be any more with-held from either: Besides that, I thinke it is impossible (I am sure it is irrationall) that any of you should beleeve in Christ, upon the authoritie of Christs Church, since beleeving the latter (which claimes no authoritie but from Christ) præsupposeth the beleife of him, and so Christianitie is not the apter to be overthrown through the absence of that, upon which it is not built: I feare rather, least your doctrine known to be grounded it selfe upon Tradition by such a way, according to which, a Jew would have much advantage of a Christian, may incline a man to Judaisme, and your fides generall slighting all waies of knowing Gods will, but onely by the Church, and then neither proving her power stronglier, nor teaching how to know her plainer, may make men sinke into *Atheisme*, by being perswaded by you, in letting goe other strong holds upon Truth, and receiving such weake ones from you. Not to speake of your loading Christianitie with such impossibilities as the Pillars of it, which are not absolute Demonstrations (of which it may be scarce any thing is in nature capable but lines and numbers) are able to beare, and using all your Wits and Industries to perswade men, that it is equallic unsafe to refuse any part of your Religion, as to receive none; and so instead of making

making these your beleefs admitted for the sake of Christianitie, causing Christianitie to be rejected because of them.

Resp.

But peradventure some may attribute Power to the Church without infallibilitie, whom I would have consider but what himself saith. For his Church by the Power it hath must either say I command you to believe, or I command you to professe this, whether you believe me or no. The second, I think no enemy of equivocation will admit, and the former it is as much as if it should say, I know not whether I say true or no, yet you must think I say true.

Repl.

We having received a command, that all things be done decently, and in order, and this being to be appointed by them, whom either the Law of the Land, (if that consist of faithfull) or the consent or custome of Christians hath appointed, for Ecclesiasticall Rulers in this matter, in every place the Church (thus restrained to the Governours of the Church) may have in some cases (though not to your purpose) power without the least Infallibilitie. And for instruction (which you aime at) no Church can give it, yours especially being too large a body ever to meet or joyn in doing it, and if you restraine the Church to the Cleargie, (whereof yet many teach not, and they too are too many for any man to be sure what they all agree in teaching, and when they differ, how shall I know which to follow, otherwise then by your Rule which I have answered) their duty indeed, but not theirs onely, (though Principally) is to instruct us in the way to Heaven, which they
doing

doing in the Persons of Embassadors between God and us, and having no absolute Letters of Credence to bid us to beleve that God saies, whatsoever they say, he saies, (as much as can be wrested out of Scriptures for any present Church, being said of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who yet proved themselves not infallible) our best way is in my mind to examine their Commission, and if they can shew that they treat according to that, to submit to them, (as in the same case we must to any of the *Eayetie*) or rather to God, of whose commands they are but Organs, and if not, to beware of their Leaven. Yet it may be that some man may hold that such an opinion is to be beleved onelie, because such a Church proposeth it, and yet not believe her Infallible, since he may think her authoritie (by reason of her Learning, Multitude, Sanctitie, Unitie and Libertie) to be more probable then any contradicting argument, and that men are to assent to what is most probable, and truelie if he could prove to me his *Major*, I am already so much of the opinion of his *Minor*, that I should joyne with him in his Conclusion.

So that if I understand any thing, where there is no Infallibility, there is no Power; where no Power, no Unity; where no Unity, no Entity; where no Entity, no Church.

Resp.

How you tie Power to Infallibilitie I guesse, but cannot how you tie Unitie to Power: For how many things are all men even at Unitie about, though one have no Power over another in them, onelie cemented together by their clear evidence:

Repl.

And

And how many more do whole Bodies , and Sects of men agree about without any such power, though they differ in other points , as so do you too ; Do not Protestants agree with you about manie , and the chiefeft *credenda*, and about almost all the meerely *facienda* ? Though not perswaded to this agreement by the Power of any Judge which they do acknowledge ; Nay if men could be at Unitie about no thing, which were not proposed by some Guide , or defined by some Judge endued with such a power , how came all you to agree, that there is some such Guide and Judge required , since sure you receive not that upon its own authoritie , and if men may find the necessitie of a Guide and Judge , without any Guide or Judge , and remain in Unitie about that , why may they not also about whatsoever is clearly taught by God , which reason assures us to be all that is necessarie , and if you say that all things necessarie are not clearlie taught, because we do not (though it proves not that we might not) agree upon them , then I reple, that I may as well say , that neither is it cleare that there is a Guide , because we dissent from you in it, although receiving the authoritie of the Scripture (out of which Cardinall *Perron* confesseth , that Saint *Austine* saith , that both the necessitie of your guide, the Church, and she her self, are to be known) and reason , which as they may be plain in this point for you, and yet perswade us not , so may they be in all necessarie points , and yet we who make theirs our ground, not perswade one another.

As

As little see I why there can be no Entitie nor Church, where there is no Unitie.

For the first, though there be small Unitie among Christians, yet certainly Christians and their Religion have some Entitie, indeed if what you say were true, there were no Entitie in yours.

For the second, I know not why two parties over-valuing their differences may not conceive each other to be none of the Church, and so declare even by excommunications, and yet remain both Parts of it, (for if a Husband misse-suspecting his Wife of Adulteric, declare her to be no longer his Wife, this cannot make her give over being so, if the bond be indeed not broken) as well as *Chrysostome* and *Epiphanius*, both excommunicated by each other, and yet both Saints, or as particular men may by your own confession be interiorly in the Church, although seeming out of it, even to the Church herself, and so those be both of the Church between whom there is no Unity: For not onely in your own *Cariophilus* his words *τὸ μυστήριον ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστόλων ἰσχυρὸς ἀξίᾳ*, but also though the persons have power, yet if the cause have not sufficiencie, I take you to agree, that an excommunication is but a *brutum fulmen*, as Victors of the *Asian* Bishops: The best therefore and strictest definition (and which I think you will not refute) which I can give for the Church, is (especially in that sense, as out of it there can be no salvation) those who are desirous to know Gods Will, (or Christs at

the strictest, for I am not certaine, nor I beleeve is it defined among you, whether an explicite knowledge of Christ be absolutely necessarie to Salvation, though I know no guiltlesse ignorance of him; can bring unavoidably upon any man eternall torments) and ready, when known, to beleeve and follow it; and sure many of these may eternally disagree even in points which are necessarie, abstracting from particular cases, and yet their differences not exclude them from the Church, and consequentlie a Church may be without Unitie, *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

Resp.

Now for the Controversies mentioned, besides that there is a meanes to terminate them, they be such as bring no breach of the ancient life and action of Christians; which all those opinions do, which for the most part are reputed to make Hereticks.

Repl.

You saw verie well, that if [no Unitie, no Church] were a true Proposition, yours hath in it differences enough to destroy its being a Church, and therefore are faine to applie what salves you can, but all in vaine: For your meanes to terminate them, doth not make them not to be before they are terminated, and consequently by your Rule yours is no Church till then. Besides, their bringing to breach of the ancient life and action of Christians proves not; but one of them may be a Heresie, since you say not your selfe, that all Heresies are such; but onelie for the most part; and indeed to prove that, you must be able to set down what those opinions are, which before a definition may make a Heretick, which I beleeve you will

will not venture to doe in haste, though we much desire it at your hands, that we may know if none of them be such.

That some controversies amongst us are not resolved, is a thing necessarie amongst humane affaires, where things must have a time to be born, to encrease, to fall, and the greater things are, the greater is their Period.

Resp.

It is true, that some time to be taken notice of must passe between an opinions rising, and being condemned; but that so long they should run on, and many of your Councils having since been held, is sure not necessarie, and shewes, that you esteem not Unitie so necessarie as you pretend: some opinions I am sure you can soon enough quash, as that not long since risen in *Spain* concerning Fornication being but a Veniall Sin: And whereas you say, the greater things are, the greater their period, though this be true in some things, yet not in this, for sure the greater a difference is, the greater necessitie is there that it be soon decided, and so if your decision have power to effect it, as you pretend among you it hath, it must fall as soon as it is born, like the *Zāa ignūca*. Creatures that live but a day.

Repl.

Wherefore I do not see why this may hurt the Church, more then the suits, which hang in our Courts, preiudice the government of the Land.

Resp.

If any of these opinions be of that importance, as that though uncondemn'd the Holders are Hereticks, as some may be, and my definition being concluded of such among you, some of these

Repl.

may be some of them; then sure they hurt the Church much, and more then the Suites hurt the Government, which their hanging hurts not at all, though it hurts (sometimes unavoidable) the Parties. But if where there is no Unitie, there were no Common-wealth, as you say, where there is no Unitie, there can be no Church, then the Government were much prejudic'd by the Suits, as your Church by this rule, is made no Church by the differences; And indeed if men were not agreed about the power of the Governours (as you are not about some of your questions) it must be a maim to the government of any Common-wealth, as consequentlie these are to the government of your Church.

Resp.

The last point of the Authors discourse is, to shew how errors might have crept in, wherein I shall have no opposition with him, for I doe not thinke the question is, how they should creep in, but how they should be kept out.

Repl.

Here Sir, I cannot but beleave; that you intended to refresh your selfe with some Mirth, as with Musicke between the Acts; for though both our ends be, that errors should not creep in, yet the question was, whether it were possible that they might creepe in, and to my affirmative part it conduced to shew those waies, by which either they have entred, or easilie might doe so, this shewing how they may steale in, teacheth how to keep them out, as it is an aide to the saving of a Town, to discover the breaches, which cannot be guarded without they be first known.

For

For the Fluxibility of humane Nature is so great, that it is no wonder if errors should have crept in, the wayes being so many; but it is a great wonder of God that none should have crept in. This nevertheless I may say, if the Author will confesse, as I thinke he will not deny, but that it is disputable, whether any error in sixteen Ages hath crept in, this very thing is above Nature. For if there were not an excellency beyond the nature of corruptible things, it would be undeniably evident, that not one or two, but thousands of errors had quite changed the shape of the Church in so many yeares, tempests, disunions, want of Commerce in the body of the Church.

Resp.

The greater wonder it were, if your Church had no error; the greater it is to me, that upon one, at most but probable, Reason, you should require all men to beleeve she hath none; Neither doth it appeare to me disputable, whether she have or no, but evident, that she hath, not by Demonstrations, yet by Probabilities of that multitude, and weight upon which you say (and say trulie) that in all other cases we relie, and venture that we most esteem: whereas indeed you, as you are of the imposing Partie, ought to bring at least such proofes, that you are fallen into none, and as you are of the Infallibilitie-pretending-partie, your proofes are likewise to rise from probable to Infallible: Neither doe I conceive it to be probable argued, it is disputable, whether this bodie of men have ever let in any error, therefore it can never let in any, since it is at least as disputable, whether the *Grecians* have let in any, yet you will not allow, that

Repl.

that upon this we should adjudge to her Infallibilitie: Nay if it were demonstrative, that your Church had yet never erred, yet it would but unwillinglie follow, that she never could, since all things necessarie are so plaine (without the confession of which you seeme to tax God) and it is naturallie so plaine what is plaine, that I cannot but thinke it a miracle, that some one bodie of Christians among so many, should be free from any such dogmaticallie-defended error, especiallie if Truth were so indifferentlie sought after as it ought to be, and Passion were not often called to counsell, and Reason shut out of doores.

Resp.

But this one Maxime, that she receiveth her Faith by Tradition, and not from Doctors hath ever kept her entire: And he that will shew the contrary, must shew how it should come to passe, that those, who lived in such an Age, would say unto our Children, this we received from our fore-fathers, as taught them by our fore-fathers, to have been received from Christ and his Apostles from hand to hand, which if it could not be, the question is resolved, that no error is in the Church of God, which holdeth her faith upon that Tenure.

Repl.

Not to repeat, *usque ad nauseam*, what I have heretofore answered, as that others differing from you, hold upon the same Tenure that your selves have notwaies held, nor hold not upon it, &c. I will onelie tell you what Cardinall Perron tels me of the Jewes out of Isidore, and that is, that they seeing in the book of *Wisedome* so cleare proofes of Christ, plotted together to put it out of the Canon,

Canon, which serves not so much his turne, if it were so, as it makes against yours, and shews how that might come to passe, which you judge impossible, the Posteritie of the *Jewes* having been deceived by this Complot; although pretending at least, and for ought appeares, beleeving that the Tradition of their Church is still uncorrupted.

And truly if the Author desires to examine divers Religions, let him look their maine ground wherein they relie, and see whether that be good or no: And I think amongst Christians he shall find but two, Tradition, and Scripture;

Resp.

First, I allow not of your division, for not to say now that you relie not onely upon Tradition, these Protestants, whose part in this I take, depend not onelie upon Scripture, but upon Universall Tradition too, from which they receive that, and would more, if more seemed as clearly to them so to be delivered.

Repl.

Secondly, I think it reasonable not onely to examine what their Principles are, but whether they do constantly follow them, for a man may write awrie, that hath a streight Ruler, if he observe it not carefully.

And the Catholiques onely to relie upon Tradition, and all the rest upon Scripture; and he shall see, that relying upon Scripture cannot draw to an Unitie those who relie upon it, and more then one cannot relie upon Tradition.

Resp.

If all that relie upon Tradition be Catholicks, you must admit the Eastern Churches into your Com-

Repl.

Communion, although you now account them both Scismaticks and Hereticks: If all Catholicks do relie upon Tradition as their onelie grounds, and Tradition be so sure and infallible, and unmistakable a deliverer, as you would perswade us, how come so manie differences between you, some ever counting those things matter of Faith which others do not; which differences shew, if they all relie on these Questions, upon the ground you say they do, that more then one may relie upon Tradition, and neither can Tradition, any more then Scripture, draw to an Unitie, those who relie upon it; if either neither part do, or either do not, then Tradition is not the Common Tenure of Catholicks, (not onelie in different opinions, but even in such as are most *de fide*, and as both parts think nothing but a definition (and some scarce that) to make the Holders of the contrary to them Hereticks) since if it were, neither could one part of Catholicks relie upon any other then the Catholick ground, neither is it to be doubted, but that side which builds their opinion upon an Hereticall foundation against another, beleevd upon a Catholick ground, would long agoe have been among you exploded, and the Pope have been not onelie with so much paines perswaded, but even of himselfe readie to have past his censure upon them; if not for their superstructions, yet for their foundation.

Resp.
Repl.

If I will be a Christian, I must be of one side.

If you mean I must be of one side, that is take one of these grounds, I answer, That I take both
one

one from the other, Scripture from Tradition, though not from the present Tradition of a Part, but from the Universall one of the first Christians opposed by none, but by them, who were instantlie counted by the generallitie heterodox, and as soon opposed as known. If you mean that I must be of one side in points, I whollie denie any such necessitie.

By falling on the one side, I see my fortune in thousands who have gone before me, to wit, that I shall be to seek all my life time, as I see they are, and how greatlie they magnifie verie weak pieces. On the other side, I see everie man who followeth, as farr as he followeth it, is at quiet.

Resp.

I see not but the greatest part of those who take the ground which you mislike, are yet serled and confident enough in their opinion, and if they continued alwaies seeking Truth for the love of it, I know not why they should be the lesse likely to find Heaven: Neither think I that you will say (nay it is plaine by your own words, that you will not say) that Saint *Austine* had been damned if he had died in his search, nor consequently any other in his case. And whereas you say, that all who follow the other, are at quiet as farr as they follow it, I answer, So are all who fixedly beleeeve themselves to follow an infallible (although indeed a false) Guide, as the *Mahumetans*, being led by their *Musty*, : Which proves Quiet, no sufficient caution for Truth, nor Securitie for Safetie, and that, supposing yours the more easie and sarisfying way, it followes not that it is the more reason-

Repl.

able : And for what you say of a mans duty to judge himself rigorously , whether he seek as he ought , I subscribe to that opinion , and approve of your Councell.

Resp.

Besides this, he must have this care, that he seek what the Nature of the subject can yeeld, and not as these Physitians, who when they have promised no lesse then immortality, can at last onely reach to some conservation of health, or youth in some small degree; So I could wish the Author well to assure himself, First, that there is possible an infallibilitie, before he be to earnest to be contented with nothing lesse. For, what if humane nature should not be capable of so great a good, would he therefore think fitting to live without any Religion, because he could not get such a one as himself desired, though with more then a mans wish.

Repl.

What you now say, I confesse is very rationall, (as indeed all you say, is as much as your cause will suffer) and I require you not therefore to prove your opinions to be infallible by infallible arguments, as necessarie to be done in it self, but as necessarie to be done by them, of whose opinions their Churches infallibilitie is not onelie a part, but a ground, and that the chief, if not the onelie one, and of which an infallible certaintie is the first and main condition of their Communion, and our want of it, one of their maine Objections against us.

Resp.

He that will make a judgement in an Art he is not Master in, if he be deceived, it is to be imputed to himself. The Phrase commandeth us to believe every

ryman in his Art, he who knoweth and understandeth himselfe beleeveth not. Therefore when wee see Masters in an Art, we are not skild in, oppose us, we may beleewe we are in the wrong, which will breed this Resolution in the Author of the discourse, that if himself be not skild in all those waies in which he pursues his search, he must find himself obliged to seek Masters, who be both well skilled, and the matter being subiect to faction also, very honest, and upright men, or else he doth not quit himself before God.

Truelie: I am farr from being Master either in this or any other Art, but if for this cause I ought to doubt, and because much learnedet persons oppose me, I ought to beleewe my self in the wrong, then so ought those of your part to do; who are as Ignorant as I, we having many much more learned then they who oppose them, and take our part, though therefore I think not of my self (what Tully in a Complement would perswade one of his Friends, that *Nemo est qui sapientius mihi possit suadere meipso*, yet I dare not chuse (as you would have me) some Master to search for me, and beleewe him blind-fold, (though if I would, I see no cause why to chuse any from among you, who have so many able Teachers at home) for you confessing that the matters are subiect to Faction, and it being certaine, that not onelie who are honest is impossible to be known, but that eagernesse and desire to have, what they think Truth, prevails, makes even the honest men sometimes deviate from the line of exact honestie.

Repl.

and lie for God, which he not onelie needs not, but forbids, (as is to be seen too frequentlie in the Quorations of both sides) I conceive it the best way to follow my own Reason, since I know I have no will to cozen my self, as they may have to cozen me: Especially since neither could I build upon such a way, an assent of such a degree, as your Church requires, since such Masters, although learned, which I being unlearned may be deceived in, and honest, which all men might be deceived in, yet not infallible, could not in reason make me infallibly certaine of the Orthodoxnesse of that side, which they should chuse for me: So that what was said by the *Pagan Solomon* *Socrates*, (who yet was no confident man of his knowledge) *ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἴστω μηδὲν περὶ δαίμονος ἢ τι λόγον, ὅστις ἐμοὶ λόγουμένη ἐκτίσται καλῶς*, is my resolution too, and indeed in effect if not whollie, yet almost every mans, for those who trust their Reason least, yet, trust it in this, that some other instead of it is to be trusted, and so chuse who they are to trust, against which the Arguments either from the fallibilitie of Reason in generall, or in this particular remaine equally, an ignorant man being as likely to be deceived in the choice of his Guide, as in that of his Way, and that course being rather the shorter then the better, as venturing in the same, and no stronger a Bark, onelie venturing all his wealth at once.

Resp.

It is not all one not to incurre damnation for infidelitie, and to be in state of damnation; for the man to whom infidelitie is not imputed, may be in state

state of damnation for other faults; as those were, who having known God by his works, did not glorifie him as they ought.

That men may be damned for other faults concerns not our Question, nor indeed is any.

Nay, they may be damned for want of Faith, and yet not be damned for incredulitie, As for example sake, if when they have sinned, they know not what meanes to have them forgiven, though they be without fault in not beleevving, neverthelesse dying without Remission of sin, they are not in state to come to life everlasting.

Repl.

Resp.

Repl.

This concerns no Christians, none of which that I know differs from you in the necessarie meanes of obtaining forgivenesse for sinnes, for though you require Confession, yet you allow that Contrition will save without it: Neither do I believe, but an imperfect Repentance caused through faultlesse Ignorance, of what it is for it to be perfect, will still be accepted by him who regards the Heart more then the Action; indeed onelie the Action, because of the Heart, and knowes, that if he use not the appointed meanes, it is onelie because he knowes it not, else considering the manie impositions from above the great frailtie within, and the great and manie temptations without, so that to fall into no sin, were morally impossible, he who *as in to now*, generally observed what he counted himself bound to observe, if for some faults which he was after heartilie sorry for, and had sincerelie reformed, he should be damned for want of knowing more, how

how to purge himself from them then he could possible know, God would not be desirous of the Salvation of all men, and it would seem agreeable to no Mercy, nor to any Justice, except that *Summum jus*, which ever hath been thought condemnable in man, and consequentlie incompatible in God.

Resp.

As the man who should venture into a wood without a Guide, although he did his best to have a guide, nothing lesse might fall out of his way as well as he who neglected the taking of one; so if God sent us his Son to shew us the way of Salvation, as well as he like not to be saved who never heard of such a way, as he that heard of it and neglected it, for neither of the two goeth that way: And who goeth not on the way, is not like to come to the end.

Repl.

The way is beleieving and obeying Christ, for them to whom He and his Commands are sufficientlie proposed, I mean so, that it is their fault if they know them not: In generall then, it is seeking the Truth impartially, and obeying diligently what is found sincerely, and who treads this way, though he misse of Truth, shall not misse of his favour who is the Father of it, and if he be excluded Heaven, sure God meant that he should never come thither, and desires not that he and all else should, else he would not have proposed one such a way, which if it were possible for any to misse without his own fault, and which he knew that many would. Truly, that no opinion, that no error is a sin without the cause of it be one; and that God is not displeased with any man for not seeing

seeing what it is not his fault that he doth not see, is agreeable to the common Notions of Justice, and God, and it is a verie good Negative way to trie superstructions by, to see whether they agree with these grounds of all Religion, whereof, rather then beleve such men should be damned, I would beleve they should be annihilated, or keep your Children companie, and have *pœnam damni*, though not *sensus*.

I know God is good and mercifull : But I know his decrees as farr as we know are dispenced by the order of second Causes, and where we see no second Causes, we cannot presume of the effects; and how am I assured he will send Angels to illuminate such men as do their endeavours, that their Soules may not perish.

Resp.

A carefull search of Gods, and inclusively Christs will, and readinesse to obey it, is second Cause enough; For, for want of that second cause, we must not suppose any thing to the dishonour of of the First. As to beleve, that they should be so punished who do their endeavours, is to lay their damnation to Gods charge: One of the chiefe waies with which the Ancients opposed the *Pagans*, was shewing them that their Religion taught such things of their Gods, as no Reason would allow not to be dishonourable to the Diety. Now truly, if when by this Argument we have rooted out the *Pagan* Gods, we lay as strange imputations upon the God of the Christians, what effect is it likely to produce, but onely to make men call for their old Gods againe, and think that we had as good kept those, who delighted in the Sacrifices of men, who

Repl.

who deposed their Fathers, and eat their Children, as have changed hardly for the better. It is reported in the Ecclesiastical History that a Painter for drawing Christ in the likenesse of *Jupiter*, had his hand dried up, and certainlie they who figure him to themselves, and others with Attributes so contrary to his, and more fit for a *Jupiter*, do him much more wrong, then if they had drawn him *Tela trifurca tenentem*, with a thunder bolt in his hand. What Master, Father, or King, would not be esteemed a Tyrant, who should inflict not onelie an infinite, and an eternall, but a slight and a short punishment upon a Servant, Child, or Subject, for not doing when commanded, what the Commanders saw with all his endeavours, which he had diligently applied, he could not do; and shall we lay such an asperision upon that God, (who though he be Justice it self, is more Mercifull then Just, who is *Πατήρ οὐκ ἐκδικητής*, the Father of Mercies) as that like a *Pharaoh*, he should exact Brick, when there is no possibilitie of getting Straw. You may beleeve what you think fit, but rather then I will beleeve that any mans Soule that hath done his endeavours, not onelie shall, but that it is possible it should perish, (although not illuminated by Angels, which yet, if Illumination were necessarie, I know some way or other he should have) rather then I will beleeve, either that any be damned for what is no sin, or that sin is *τὸ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν*, somewhat out of our power, (which if we thought, it would be soon out of our care) rather then when God hath so often told us, *That*
he

he desires not the death of a sinner, I will give him the lie, and say, that he desires his damnation, even as a Creature without any reference to his sin, by chalking out onelie such a way from Hell, which it was impossible for his search to lead him into, and to make him as much a worse Father then Satan, as to damne is worse then to devoure; rather I say then this, I will make yours, or the *Pagan Legend*, *Ovids Metamorphosis*, my Creed; nor would I be a member of the Christian Church, if this believe were a necessarie part of Christian Religion, but should crie out with *Averroes*, (whom Transubstantiation kept a *Pagan*) *Sit anima mea cum Philosophis*, for the excellencie, and puritie of the doctrine in all other points tending wholly to the honour of God, and the common happinessse of man, the sanctified life, constant sufferings, and wonderfull Miracles of the Divulgers of it, the wonderfull progress of it, (not a much lesse Miracle then they) the weak things of the World confounding the strong, and Fishermen confuting Philosophers, that a Doctrine so strict and contrarie to humane desires, and not onelie barring from so much pleasure and glory, but also making the Sectators liable to such crueltie and contempt, should perswade so manie, and so wise persons to leave present things in hope of future, all this and whatsoever else, any *Raimond*, *Seband*, *Vives*, *Plessis*, *Charron*, or *Grotius*, could either more sharply designe, or more eloquentlie expresse, would not reasonable prevaile, if such a block as such a Doctrine were laid in the way, (of which

Sort your Religion hath yet more) and that one dead flie would corrupt the whole ointment; the excellencie of the rest of the Doctrine of Christianitie would be thought the Art, and the great and and manie miracles would be thought the Act of some evill *Genius*, such as befriended *Apollonius*, to ensnare men by those meanes into the beleeve of that opinion, which so much derogates from the Maker of things, and the prevailing of it, though a very probable argument, would not serve for a Passe-Port to such an impossibilitie.

Resp.

But farr more do I doubt, whether ever man, who had not the way of Christ, or even of those who walked in it, did ever do his best (except some few, and very few, perhaps not two of Christ his greatest Favourites) and was not so culpable, that his Perdition would not have been imputed unto himself. God of his mercie put us in the score of those of whom he saith, He will take pittie upon whom he pleaseth, and Compassion of them he pittieeth.

Repl.

How few their number is we will not dispute, since Gods justice is in them vindicated, and they, not He, the Author of their damnation. But neither beleeve I, that God is so rigorously just, as to stand readie to catch at a slip, (like an Usurer for the forfeiture of a bond) but is of long suffering and Patience, and will as well accept our Repentance, (joynd with amendment for this neglect in our search, as for other sins: Howsoever I am so farre from thinking your prayer needlesse, that I both thank you for it humbly, and joyne with you in it heartlie; but

To

To conclude, I am to make two very contrary excuses; The one that my Paper hath left some things in yours unanswered: The other, that I have answered others too often.

Of the first, I protest (which the Reader will beleeve me in) nothing is left out; in which I conceived any weight of Argument lay, but onelie such things, as though they were superfluous for the Logick, yet conduced to the Rhetorick of your work, an eloquent Treatise, being alwaies like a hopefull young Man, *in quo aliquid amputandum.*

Of the Second, My Method, or rather my no Method was one, and your own Repetitions another Reason, so that you may the better pardon me that fault, of which your self are a partie-cause.

But to seale up all, I desire you, that how little assent soever you give to my Arguments, you will be pleased to give credit to my Assertions, when I seriously professe my selfe,

Your very much ob-

liged and thankfull

Servant.

I am to make two very contrary
excesses: The one that my paper has left out
in your answer: The other, that
I have answered otherwise than
I should have. I know which the Reader will
be least apt to believe is left out, in which I con-
sidered my weight of Argument lay; but on the
other hand, as though it were left out for
that sake, yet conducted to the Reader's or your
work, in elegant Terms, being shew'd like a
hopeful young Man, in his utmost amputation
Of the Second: My Method, or rather my Ho-
mily was one, and your own Repetition was
that Nation, to show you that the better part
of the matter, of which you tell me a great deal
But to take up all, I desire you, that how li-
tle again for ever you give to my Arguments; you
will be pleas'd to give credit to my Assertions,
which I seriously profess my self,

Your very much ob-

liged and thankful

Secretary

M m a M



Mr. Walter Montague his Letter to the Lord of Faulkland.

My Lord,

After much debate concerning the fittest expression of my duty to your Lordship, whether I ought by silence, seek to suspend your beleife of the declaration of my selfe, I have made here, or by a clear profession of it, assure you of what I may onely feare to present you with, as apprehensive of a mis-interpreted affection; I conclude, what was most satisfactory to my first, and immediate duty to God, was most justifiable to my second, and derivative to Nature. Therefore I resolved so soone, to give you this ingenious accompt of my selfe: The greatest part of my life capable of distinction of Religions, hath been employed in places, and conversant with persons, opposite to the Faith I was bred in, therefore it had been strange, if Naturall curiosity, without any spirituall provocation, had not invited to the desire of looking with mine own eyes upon the foundation I stood upon; rather there holding fast blindfold by my education, to agree to be carried away alwayes after it, insensible of all shocks I met to unfasten me, and besides, I was solicited with the reproaches Protestants

testants press upon Catholicks, that they blindly believe all the Impostures of the Church, without any illumination of the Judgements, this my thoughts injoyed, the clearest information of my selfe of the differences between us I could propose to my capacity.

So at my last journey into Italy, I did imploy all my leasure to a more justifiable settlement of my beleife, as I then imagined, by a confirmation of my judgement, in what had been introduced by my birth and education. I began with this consideration, that there were two sorts of questions between the Catholicks and Protestants, the one of Right or Doctrine, the other of Fact or Story. As this, whether Luther were the first Erector of the Protestants Faith, whether it had a visible appearance of Pastors and Teachers before his time, I resolved to begin my enquiry with the Question of Fact, for these Reasons.

First, Because they were so few, and so comprehensible by all capacities, and the controversies of doctrine so intricate, and so many, as they required much time and learning for their disquisition, onely I found my selfe unprovided for both those requisitions for this undertaking, and for the decision of the other, I needed not much presumption to beleieve my selfe a competent Judge, when it consisted onely in the perusall of authentique Testimonies.

Secondly, I considered, that there was no one point of controverted doctrine whereon all the rest depended, but that this one Question of Fact was such, as the decision of it determined all the rest, for if Luther

Luther could be proved to be the Innovatour of the Protestants faith; it was necessary evicted, of not being the true ancient Apostolicall Religion. Therefore I began with this enquiry, which Protestants are bound to make to answer to this Objection, to find out an existence of some Professors of the reformed Doctrines before Luthers time: for finding the Catholicks were not obliged to prove the Negative, it was my part, to prove to my selfe the Affirmative, that our Religion was no innovation by some pre-existence before that, but in the perusal of all the Stories or Records, Ecclesiasticall, or Civill, as I could choose, I could finde no ancienter a dissention from the Roman Church then Waldo, Wickliffe, or Husse, whose cause had relation to the now-professed Protestancy, so as I found an intervall of about eight hundred yeares from the time, that all the Protestants confesse a Unity with the Church of Rome down to those persons, without any apparent profession of different Faith. To answer my selfe in this point, I read many of our Protestant Authors who treated of it, and I found most of them reply to this sence; in which I cite here one of the most authentique, Doctor Whitaker in his Controversie 2. 3. pag. 479. where they aske of us, where our Church was heretofore for so many Ages? We answer, that it was in secret solitude, that is to say, it was concealed, and lay hid from the sight of men, and further, the same Doctor, Chap. 4. pag. 502. our Church alwayes was; but you say it was not visible, doth that prove that it was not? No, for it lay hid in a solitary concealment; to this direct sence, were all the answers that

that ever I could meet to this Objection; I repeat no more, these places being so positive to our point. This confession of Invisibilitie in our Church for so many ages did much perplex me, it seemed to me, even to offend Naturall reason, such a derogation from Gods power or providence, as the sufferance of so great an Eclipse of the light of this true Church, and such a Church as this is described to be, seeming to me repugnant to the maine reason, why God hath a Church on Earth, which is to be conservor of the Doctrine, Christs precepts, and to convey it from age to age, untiill the end of the world. Therefore I applied my study, to peruse such arguments as the Catholicks brought for the prooffe of a continuall visibility of the true Church down from the Apostles time in all Ages, and apparance of Doctors teaching and administring the Sacrament, in prooffe of this I found they brought many provisoos of the Scripture, but this text most literall, of the fourth of the Ephesians, Christ hath placed in his Church, Pastors and Doctors, to the consummation of the Saints, till we meet in the Unity of the Faith, and next the discourse, upon which they inferre this necessary visible succession of the Church, seemed to me, to be a most rationall and convincing one, which is to this effect, Naturall Reason not being able to proportion to a man a cause that might certainly bring him to a state of supernaturall happinesse, and that such a cause being necessary to mankind, which otherwise would totally faile of the end it was created for, there remained no other way, but that it must be proposed unto us by one, whose authority we could not doubt

doubt of, and that in so plaine a manner, as the simplest may be capable of it as well as the learned. This work was performed by our Saviour, from whose mouth all our Faith is originally derived, but this succeeding age not being able to receive it immediate from thence, it was necessary it should be conveyed unto them that lived in it, by those that did receive it from Christ's own Mouth, and so from Age to Age untill the end of the world; and in what Age soever this thred of doctrine should be broken it must needs be acknowledged for the reason above mentioned, that the light, which should convey mankind through the darknesse of this world, was extinguished, and mankind is left without a Guide to infallible ruine, which cannot stand with Gods providence and goodness, which Saint Austine affirms for his opinion, directly in his book de Util. Cred. Cap. 16. saying, If divine providence doe preside over humane affaires, it is not to be doubted, but that there is some authoritie constituted by the same God, upon which going, as upon certaine steps, we are carried to God; nor can it be said he meant the Scriptures onely by these steps, since experience shewes us the continuall alteration about the right sense of severall of the most important places of it, that what is contained there, cannot be a competent rule to mankind, which consisteth more of simple then learned men; and besides, the Scriptures must have been supposed to have been kept in some hands, whose authority must begot our acceptance of it, which being no other thing then the Church in all Ages, we have no more reason

to beleieve, that it hath preserved the Scriptures free from all corruption, then that it hath maintained it selfe in a continuall visibilty, which Saint Augustine concludeth to be a marke of the true Church, in these words, in his book Cont. Cecill. 104. The true Church hath this certaine signe, that it cannot be hid, therefore it must be known to all Nations; but that part of the Protestants is unknown to many, therefore cannot be the true; no inference can be stronger then from hence, that the concealement of a Church disproves the truth of it. Lastly, not to insist upon the allegation of the sence of all the Fathers of the Church in every severall Age, which seemed to me most cleare; that which in this cause weighed much with me, was the confession and testimony of the approved Doctors themselves of the Protestant Church, as Hooker in his Book of Ecclesi. Pol. pag. 126. God alwaies had, and must have some visible Church upon Earth: and Doctor Field, the first of Ecclesi. cap. 10. It cannot be, but those that are the true Church must be known by the profession of truth; and further, the same Doctor sayes, How should the Church be in the world, and nobody professe openly the saving truth of God; and Doctor White in his defence of the Way, chap. 4. pag. 790. The providence of God hath left Monuments and Stories for the confirmation of our faith; and I confesse truly, that our Religion is false, if a continuall descent of it cannot be demonstrated by these monuments down from Christs time; this appeareth unto me a direct submission

mission of themselves, to produce these apparent testimonies of the publique profession of their faith, as the Catholiques demand; but this I could never read, nor know of any that performed; for Doctor White himselfe, for want of prooffe of this, is faine to say in another place in his *Way to the Church*, pag. 510. The Doctors of our faith, hath had a continuall succession, though not visible to the world, so that he flies from his undertaking of a conspicuous demonstration of the monuments of his faith, to an invisible subterfuge, or a beleife without apparance; for he saith, in the same book in another place, pag. 84. All the eternall government of the Church may faile, so as a locall and personall succession of Pastors may be interrupted; and pag. 403. We doe not contest for an externall succession, it sufficeth that they succeed in the doctrine of the Apostles and Faithfull, which in all ages did imbrace the same Faith; so as here he removeth absolutely all externall prooffe of succession, which before he consented to be guided by. I cannot say, I have verbally cited these Authors, because I have translated these places, though the Originall be in English, yet I am sure, their sence is no way injured; and I have chosen to alleadge Doctor Whites authority, because he is an Orthodox Professor of the Protestant Church; the reflection of the state of this question, where I found the Protestants defend themselves onely by flying out of sight, by confessing a long invisibility in their Church in apparance of Pastors and Doctors; the same interpretation left me much loosened from the

fastness of my professed Religion, but had not yet transported me to the Catholique Church, for I had an opinion, that our Divines might yet fill up this vacancy with some more substantiall then I could meet with, so I came back into England, with a purpose of seeking nothing so intemely as this satisfaction, and to this purpose I did covertly (under another mans name) send this my scruple to one, whose learning and sufficiency I had much assistance in, in these termes, whether there was no visible succession to be proved in the Protestant Church, since the Apostles time down to Luther, and what was to be answered to that Objection, besides the Confession of invisibility for so many ages, to this I could get no other answer, but that the point had been largely and learnedly handled by Doctor Whitte, and many other of our Church: upon this I resolved to inform my selfe in some other points, which seemed to me unvarriable and suspicious in the Ceremonies of the Romane Church, since I had such an inducement as so little satisfaction in a point that seemed to me so essentiall; and in all these scruples, I found mine own mistake in the beleife of the Tenets of the Romane Church, gave me the onely occasion of scandal, not the practise of their doctrines, and to confirme me in the satisfaction of all them, I found the practise and authority of most of the ancient Fathers, and in the Protestant refutations of these doctrines, the refutations of their authorities, as men that might erre, so that the question seemed then to me, whether I would rather have had the erring with them, then with

with the latter Reformers; which consequently might
 erre also in dissenting from them: I will not under-
 take to dispute the severall Tenets controverted,
 nor doubt that your Lordship will suspect, that I
 omitted any satisfaction in any of them, since my
 resolution, of reconciling my selfe to the Romane
 Church, is not liable to any suspition of too forward
 or precipitate resignation of my selfe, my judgement
 perchance may be censured of seducement, my affection
 cannot be of corruption.

Upon these reasons I did, soone after my returne
 last into England, reconcile my selfe to the Romane
 Catholique Church, in the beleife and convincement
 of it, to be the true ancient and Apostolicall by her
 externall markes, and her internall objects of faith
 and doctrine; and in her I resolve to live and dye,
 as the best way to Salvation: When I was in Eng-
 land I did not study dissimulation so dexterously, as
 if my fortune had read it to me, nor doe I now
 professe it so desperately, as if it were my fortunes
 Legacie, for I doe not beleerve it so dangerous,
 but it may recover, for I know the Kings wisdomme
 is rightly informed, that the Catholique Faith doth
 not tend to the alienation of the Subject, it rather
 super-infuseth a Reverence and Obedience to Mo-
 narchie, and strengthens the bands of our obe-
 dience to our Naturall Prince, and his Grace and
 Goodnesse shall never finde other occasion of di-
 version of them from the naturall usuall exercise
 of themselves, upon those that have the honour
 to have beene bred with approbation of fidelity in
 his

his service, nor can I feare, that your Lordship should apprehend any change in my duty, even your displeasure (which I may apprehend upon the mis-interpreted occasion) shall never give me any of the least recession from my duty, in which profession I humbly aske your blessing; as

Your Lordships

obedient Sonne

Paris 21. Novemb.

1635.

The

The Lord of Faulklands Answer to a
Letter of Mr. Mountague, justifying his
change of Religion, being disperled
in many Copies.

I Was desired to give my opinions of the Reasons,
and my Reason if I mistiked them; having read
and considered it, I was brought to be perswa-
ded.

First, because having been sometimes in some
degrees moved with the same Inducements, I thought
that what satisfied me, might possibly, have the same
effect upon him.

Secondly, because I being a Lay man, a young
man, and an Ignorant man, I thought a little Rea-
son might in liklyhood work more from my Pen, then
more from theirs, whose Profession, Age, and Stu-
dies might make him suspect, that it is they are too
hard for him, and not their Cause for his.

Thirdly, Because I was very desirous to do him ser-
vice, not onelie as a man, and a Christian, but as one,
whom all that know him inwardly, esteeme of great
parts, (and I am desirous somewhat to make up my great
want of them, by my respect to those that have
them)

them) and as an impartiall seeker of Truth, which I trust he is, and I professe my self to be, and so much for the cause of this Paper: I come now to that which is opposeth.

First then, whereas he defends his search, I suppose he is rather for that to receive praise, then to make Apologies, all men having cause to suspect that gold which were given with this condition, that the Receiver should not trie it by any Touchstone.

Secondly, He saith, that there being two sorts of Questions, the one of Right, or Doctrine, the other of Fact, or Story, As whether the Protestants Faith had a visible appearance before Luther, he resolved to begin his enquiry with the matter of Fact, as being sooner to be found, (because but one) and easier to be comprehended: To this I answer, by saying, that if they would not appeale from the Right Tribunall, or rather Rule, which is the Scripture, those many might rather be ended then this one, (we building our Faith onely upon plaine places, and all reasonable men, being sufficient of what is plain) but if they appeal to a consent of Fathers, and Councells, whereof many are lost, many not lost not to be gotten, many uncertaine whether Fathers or no Fathers, and these, which we have, and know, being too many for almost any industrie to read over, and absolutely for any memory to remember, (which yet is necessarie, because any one clause of any one Father, destroys a consent) and being

ing besides liable to all the exceptions which can be brought against the Scriptures, being the Rule, as difficulty, want of an infallible Interpreter, and such like, and being denied to have any infallibility, (especially when they speak not as witnesses, which a consent of them never doth against us) by one partie, which the Scripture is allowed to have by both, then I wonder not if he think such a way so uncertaine, and so long, that he was willing to chuse any shorter cut, rather then travell it: Neither do I beleieve this other to be so short, or so concluding as he imagines, for if he consider the large extent of Christian Religion, so that we know little from any indifferent Relator of the opinions of the *Abissins*, so great a part of Christendome, if he consider the great industry of his Church in extinguishing those whom they have called Hereticks, and also their Books, so that we know scarce any thing of them, but from themselves, (who are too partiall to make good Historians) if he consider how carefully they stop mens mouthes, (even those of their own) with their *Indices expurgatorii*, it will then appear to him both a long work to seek, and a hard one to find, whether any thought like *Luther* in all Ages, and that he concludes very rashly, who resolves that there was none, because he cannot find any, since they might have been visible in their times, and yet not so to us, (for men are not the lesse visible when they are so, for not being after remembered) as a man may be a Gentleman, though he know not his pedigree: So that as I will not

affirm that there were alwaies such, because I cannot prove it; so neither ought they to make themselves sure there were none, without they could prove that which is impossible, and therefore no Argument can be drawn from thence; and if it could be proved, that such a no-waies-erring Church must at all times be, I had rather beleeeve that there were still such, though we know them not, which may be true, then that theirs is it, which in my opinion cannot.

Thirdly, He saies that he could find no one point of controverted Doctrine, whereupon all the rest depended, but that this one Question of Fact was such, as the decision of it determined all the rest.

To this I answer, That the Question of the Infallibilitie of the Pope, at least of those who adhere to him, which they call the Church, is such a one, as if determined, must determine all the rest, and not onely to us, but to all men, whereas this (though granted necessarie, and determined to his wish) would indeed conclude against us, but not for them, since the *Greek Church* would put in as good a Plea upon the Title of Visibilty, as that of *Rome*, and he would be to begin anew with them when he had ended with us.

Fourthly, He gives his reason, If *Luther* could be evicted to be the Innovator, his Religion is then evicted of not being the true ancient and Apostolicall.

To this I answer, by confessing the consequence; but he might be the Renovator, and not the

the Innovator, and then no such consequence fol-
lows.

Fifthly, He saies we are bound to find an ex-
istence of some Professors of the reformed Reli-
gion before *Luther*, which requirie is bound up-
on his supposition of the necessitie of a continuall
succession of a visible, and no-waies erronious
Church.

Now I will first examine the sence of his
tearms. By the first, I conceive [by a place he
cites out of Saint *Austine*, that he meanes visible
to all Nations, but I pray, hath his been alwaies
so, I mean at least (for many Centuries) to those
Nations, which *Columbus* hath not long since dis-
covered.

By the second term Church, I suppose he
meanes a Company of Christians holding neither
more, or lesse then Christ taught, (for in a more
large sence, no man denies the Church to have
been alwaies in some degrees visible) and in this
sence, I not onely deny it necessarie, that it should
be alwaies visible, but that it should alwaies be,
for I doubt whether there be, or for a long while,
have been any such.

Next, That such a one he meanes, appeares,
because when Catalogues have been brought of
some, who in all Ages have differed from them
in things which we hold, his side would not accept
of them, because they agreed not with us in all
things, and yet when *Campion* intends to prove
all the Fathers to be his, he useth onely this course
of instancing, in some things wherein they agree

with him, (though sometimes not so much, but rather the contrary ought to be inferred, as in the instance of *Polycarpus*, for comparing his words with the Historie, it will appear, that he concluded him a Papist for not being perswaded by the Pope) though they differed from them in many other, as indeed all the notable Fathers did in more then one point. I will therefore say, that if, this be required to shewing that a Church hath been ever visible, it is more then either part can do, and therefore I hope they will come upon better consideration to confesse that not necessarie for us to do, which is impossible for themselves. For let any man look into Antiquitie, I will not say without all prejudice, but without an absolute Resolution of seeing nothing in it that contradicts his present beleefe, and if he find not some opinions of the Church of *Rome* as unknown unto Antiquity, as either he, or I, as the Popes Indulgences having power to deliver out of Purgatorie, confest by Bishop *Fisher*, and *Alphonsus de Castro*, where they treat of Indulgences, if he find not others at first unknown, after known, but not held *de fide*, which are so at *Rome*, as *Prayer to Saints*, their enjoying the *Beatificall Vision before the day of Judgement*, the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*, and her being free from all actuall sin, if he find not some wholly unknown, and absolutely condemned, which we condemne, as the lawfullnesse of picturing God the Father, whereof the first is confest by *Barronius* in the Margent to an Epistle of a Pope, which saies the same, and the latter to be

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be found in many places of Saint *Austine*, *Lactantius*, and others, nay if he find not that all the Doctors, Saints, Martyrs of the two first Ages (I mean as many as are now extant, and speak of it) held something, which both parts condemne, as the opinions of the *Chilists*; If I say, he find not this, or I shew him not that he might have found it, I professe I will be ready to spend my life for that Church, against which I now employ my Pen: So that this will be the end, neither of your Churches have been alwaies visible, onely the difference is this, that we are most troubled to shew our Church in the Latter, and more corrupt Ages, and they theirs in the first and purest, that we can least find ours at night, and they theirs at Noone. And whereas he expects that Doctor *White* should stand to this, to confesse his Religion false, if a continuall descent of it cannot be demonstrated, if he himself will please to grant as much as he exacts, if he but continue in this resolution, and in this search, I doubt no more but that he will soone leave to be a Papist, then I should doubt if I saw him now receiving the Communion in the Kings Chappell, that he had done it already.

Sixtly, His Reasons for the necessitie of the Visibilty follow, because the contrary were a derogation from Gods Power or Providence.

Answer, To say he could nor keep the Truth exactly in mens beleefe, were to derogate from Gods Power, to say he had not given sufficient meanes to find the Truth, and yet damne men

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for error, the first would be a derogation from his Providence, the second from his Justice, but to say he suffers men to erre, who neglect the meanes of not erring, and that he damnes none for a meer error, in which the will hath no part, and consequently the man no fault, derogates from none of the three, but saies he, this is repugnant to the maine reason why God hath a Church upon Earth, to be the conserver of the Doctrine of Christ, and to conveigh it from Age to Age.

I answer, To conserve it is every mans duty, but such as they may all faile in, and indeed is rather the the form of the Church, then the end of the Church, an exact conservation making an exact Church, and a lesse perfect conserving, a lesse perfect Church. As for conveighance of Doctrine, the whole Church conveighs none, whereof many (if his be it) have had but little conveighed to them. Particular Christians (especially Pastors) teach others, which it is every mans duty to do when he meets with them who want instruction, which he can give, and they are likely to receive, yet is not the instruction of others every mans maine end.

But Mr. *Mountague* I know perswades him, that some body of men are appointed to conveigh this Doctrine which men are to receive, onely because they deliver it, and this I absolutely deny, for we receive no Doctrine from the Church upon the Churches authority, because we know her not to be the Church, till we have examined her

her Doctrine, and so rather receive her for it, then it for her. Neither for the conveyance of the Truth, is it necessarie that any company of men in all times hold it all, because some may convey some Truthes, and others another, out of which, by comparing their Doctrine with the Scripture, men may draw forth a whole and perfect body of Truth, and though they deliver few other Truthes, yet in delivering Scripture (wherein all necessarie Truth is contained) they deliver all, and by that Rule, whosoever regulates his life and Doctrine, I am confident, that though he may mistake Error for Truth in the way, he shall never mistake Hell for Heaven in the end.

Seventhly, His next reason is their common *Achilles*, the fourth of the *Ephesians*, which he chuseth onely to employ like his *Triarios*, his main Battle, leaving his *Velites*, his light-armed Soldiers, some places too allegoricall, even in his own opinion to stand examination.

The words are these,

He hath given some Prophets, some Apostles, some Evangelists, some Pastors, and some Doctors. For the instauration of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the Edification of the body of Christ, till we all meet in the Unity of Faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the Age of the fullnesse of Christ. That we may be no more Children, tost and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, &c.

Now out of this place I see not how a Succession may be evinced, rather I think it may, if that Apottle

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Apostle meant none.

For first, He saith not I will give, but he hath given, and who could suppose that the Apostles could say, that Christ had given, then the present Pope and the Doctors who now adhere to him.

Secondly, Allow that by what he hath given, were meant he hath promised, (which would be a glosse not much unlike to that which one of the most wittie, and most eloquent of our Modern Divines, Doctor *Donne*, notes of *Statuimus* (i) *abrogamus*) yet since these severall Nounes are governed by the same Verb, and no distinction put, it would prove as well a necessitie of a continuall Succession of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, as of Pastors, and Doctors, which is more then either they can shew, or pretend they can, so that it seemes to me to follow, that these were then given to do this till then, and not a Succession of them promised, till then to do this, and so we receiving and retaining the Scriptures, wherein what they taught is contained, (as we would any thing else that had as generall and ancient a Tradition, if there were any such) need no more, for if he say that men are tost for all the Scripture, I answer, so are they for all their Doctors, nay, if these keep any from being tost, it is the Scripture which does it, upon which their authoritie is by them founded upon their own Interpretation and Reason, who yet will not give us leave to build any thing upon ours out of plainer places, and though they tell us, that we cannot know the Scriptures but from the Church, they are yet faine
(as

(as appears) to prove the authoritie of the Church out of Scripture, which makes me ask them in the words of their own *Campion*, and with much more cause *Nihilne pader Labyrinthi?*

Eighthly, There followes another reason to this sence, that reason not being able to shew man a way to eternall happinesse, and without such a one man would faile of the end to which he was ordained, it must be proposed by an infallible authority in so plaine a manner, as even the simple might be capable of it, which being performed by our Saviour, it must be conveyghed to succeeding Ages by those, who heard it from him, and whensoever this thread failed, mankind was left without a Guide to inevitable ruine.

I answer, That though all this granted, it proves not against us, for we have the Scripture come down to us, relating Christs Doctrine, and written by those that heard it, which the simple are capable of understanding, (I mean as much as is plaine, and more is not necessarie, since other Questions may as well be suffered without harme, as those between the *Jesuites* and the *Dominicans* about Prædetermination, and between the *Dominicans* and almost all the rest about the Immaculate Conception) and those who are not, neither are they capable out of Scripture to discern the true Church, much lesse by any of those Notes which require much understanding and learning, as Conformity with the Ancients, and such like.

Ninthly, The same answer I give to this,

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serves also to the following words of Saint *Anstine*, for whereas Mr. *Montague* concludeth, that he could not meane the Scriptures as a competent Rule to mankind, which consisteth most of simple Persons, because there hath been continuall alterations about the sence of important places.

I answer, That I may as well conclude by the same Logick, that neither is the Church a competent Guide, because in all Ages there have also been disputes, not onely about her authority, but even which was she, and to whatsoever reason he imputes this, to the same may we the other, as to Negligence, Pride, Præjudication, and the like, and if he please to search, I verily beleeve he will find, that the Scriptures are both easier to be known then the Church, and that it is as easie to know what these teach, as when that hath defined; since they hold no decrees of hers binding *de Fide*, without a confirmation of the Popes, who cannot never be known infallibly to be a Pope, because a secter *Simony* makes him none; no nor to be a Christian, because want of due intention in the Baptizer makes him none, whereof the latter is alwaies possible, and the first in some ages likely, and in hard Questions a readinesse to yeeld when they shall be explained, me thinks should serve as well as a readinesse to assent to the decrees of the Church, when those shall be pronouncd.

Tenthly, He saith that the Scripture must be kept safe in some hands, whose authority must beget our acceptance of it, which being no other then the Church of all ages, we have no more reason to beleeve

them (together with severall parties, having alwaies their eyes upon each other each desirous to have somewhat to accuse in their adversaries) give us a greater certaintie, that these are the same writings then we have, that any other ancient book is any other ancient Author, and we need not to have any erring Company preserved to make us surer of it: Yet the Church of *Rome*, as infallible a Depositarie as she is, hath suffered some variety to creep into the Coppies in some lesse materiall things, nay, and some whole Books (as they themselves say) to be lost, and if they say, how then can that be rule whereof part is lost? I reply, That wee are excused if we walk by all the Rule that we have, and that this maketh as much against Traditions being the Rule, since the Church hath not looked better to Gods unwritten Word, then to his written, and if she pretend she hath, let her tell us the cause why Antichrists comming was deferred, which was a Tradition of Saint *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, and which without impudence she cannot pretend to have lost? And if againe they say, God hath preserved all necessary Tradition. I reply, so hath he all necessarie Scripture, for by not being preserved, it became to us not necessarie, since we cannot be bound to beleieve and follow that we cannot find.

But besides, I beleieve that which was ever necessary is contained in what remaines, for *Pappias* faith of Saint *Mark*, that he writ all that Saint *Peter* preacht, as *Irenaeus* doth, that *Luke* writ all that

that Saint Paul preacht; nay, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, though he would have the Scripture expounded by ancient Tradition, yet confesseth that all is there which is necessary, (and yet then there was no more Scripture then we now have) as indeed by such a Tradition as he speakes of, no more can be proved then is plainly there, and almost all Christians consent in; and truly I wonder, that they should brag so much of that Author, since both in this and other things, he makes much against them, as especially in not sending men to the present *Roman* Church for a Guide, a much readier way, (if he had known it) then such a long and doubtfull Rule, as he prescribes, which indeed it is impossible that almost any Question should be ended by.

Eleventhly, He brings Saint *Austines* authority to prove, that the true Church must be alwaies visible; but if he understood Church in Mr *Moun-
tagues* sence, I think he was deceived, neither is this impudent for me to say, since I have cause to think it but his particular opinion, by his saying (which Cardinall *Perron* quoted) that before the *Donatists*, the Question of the Church had never been exactly disputed of, and by this, being one of his maine grounds against them, and yet claiming no Tradition, but onely places of Scripture, most of them allegoricall, and if it were no more, I may better dissent from it, then he from all the first Fathers, (for *Dionysius Areopagita* was not then hatcht) in the point of the *Chilists*, though some of them (*Pappias* and *Irenaus*) claimed

claimed a direct Tradition, and Christs owne words.

Secondly, As useth this kind of libertie, so he professeth it in his nineteenth Epistle, where he saith, that to Canonically Scriptures he had learnt to give the reverence, as not to doubt of what they said, because they said it, from all others he expected prooffe from Scripture or Reason.

Thirdly, The Church of *Rome* condemnes severall opinions of his, and therefore she ought not to find fault with them who imitate her example. •

Twelfthly, He addes two reasons more, *The consent of the Fathers of all ages, And the confession of Protestants.*

To the First I answer, That I know not of any such, and am the more unapt to beleieve it, because Mr. *Mountague* vouchsafes not to insist upon it, nor to quote any, which I guesse he would have done, but that he misdoubted their strength.

Secondly, Suppose that all the Fathers which speake of this, did say so, yet if they say it but as private Doctors, and claime no Tradition, I know not why they should weigh more then so many of the now learned, who having more helpes from Arts, and no fewer from Nature, are not worse searchers into what is Truth, though lesse capable of being Witnesses to what was Tradition.

Thirdly, They themselves often professe they expect not to be read as Judges, but as to be judged by their and our Rule, the Canonically Scriptures.

Fourth-

Fourthly, Let him please to read about the Immaculate Conception *Rosa Salmeron*, and *Wadding*, and he will find me as submissive to *Antiquity*, even whilst I reject it, as those of their own Party; for they to prefer new opinions before old, are faine to prefer new Doctors before old, and to confesse the latter more perspicacious, and to differ from those of former times, with as little scruple as he would from *Calvin*, (whom *Maldonat*, on purpose to oppose, confesseth he chuseth a new Interpretation, before that of all the Ancients, which no witnesse but my eyes could have made me beleieve) nay, and produce other points wherein their Church hath decreed against the Fathers, to perswade her to do so againe, althoug *Campian* with an eloquent brag, would perswade us, that they are all as much for him, as *Gregory* the thirteenth who was then Pope.

6 Cap. St.
Johan.

To the Second I answer, That Infallibility is not by us denied to the Church of *Rome*, with an intention of allowing it to particular Protestants, how wise and learned soever.

Thirteenthly, He saies next, that he after resolved to inform himself in other points which seemed to him unwarrantable, and superstitious, and found onely his own mistakes gave him occasion of Scandall.

To this I answer, That I cannot well answer any thing, unlesse he had specified the points, but I can say that there are many, as picturing God the Father, (which is generally thought lawfull, and as generally practised) their offerings to
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the Virgin *Mary*, (which onely differs from the Heresie of the *Colliridians*, in that a Candle is not a Cake) their praying to Saints, and beleieving, *de fide* that they heare us, though no way made certaine that they do so, and many more, which without any mistake of his might have given him occasion to be still scandalized: For whereas he saith that those points were grounded upon the authority of the ancient Fathers, which was refused as insufficient by Protestants.

I answer, That none of these I name have any ground in the Ancientest, nay, the first is by them disallowed, and if any other superstition of theirs have from them any ground, yet they who depart from so many of the Ancients in severall opinions, cannot by any reason be excused for retaining any error, because therein they consent, nor have the Protestants cause to receive it from them as a sufficient Apologie, neither hath he to follow the Fathers rather then Protestants, in a cause, in which not the Persons, but the Reasons, were to have been considered. For when Saint *Hierome* was by this way both brought into, and held in a strange error, though he speakes something like Mr. *Mountague*, *Patiaris me errare cum talibus*, Suffer me to erre with such men, yet he could not obtaine Saint *Austines* leave, who would not suffer him, but answered their Reasons, and neglected their Authorities.

Fourteenthly, He speakes of his Religion super-infusing Loyalty, and if he had onely said it destroyed or weakned it not, I (who wish that
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no doubt of his allegiance may once enter his mind, to whom we all owe it, but professe my self his humble Servant, and no waies his enemy, though his adversarie) would then made no answer, but since he speakes as if Popery were the way to obedience, I cannot but say, that though no Tenet of their whole Church (which I know) make at all against it, yet there are prevailing opinions on that side, which are not fit to make good subjects, when their King and they are of different perswasions. For besides that Cardinal *D' Ossat* (an Author which Mr. *Mountague*, I know, hath read, because whosoever hath but considered State matters, must be as well skilled in him, as any Priest in his Breviary) tell us, that it is the *Spaniards Maxime*, That Faith is not to be kept amongst Hereticks, and more, that the Pope intimated as much in a discourse, intended to perswade the King of *France* to forsake the Queen of *England*; he saith moreover, speaking in another place, speaking about the *Marquizat of Saluces*, that they hold at *Rome*, that the Pope, to avoid a probable danger of the encreasing of Heresie, may take a Territory from the true Owner, and dispose of it to another, and many also defend, that he hath power to depose an Hereticall Prince, and of Heresie he makes himself the Judge; So that though I had rather my tongue should cleave to the roose of my mouth, then that I should deny that a Papist may be a good Subject, even to a King whom he accounts an Heretick, since I verily beleeve, that I my self know very many, very

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good; yet Popery is like to an ill aire, wherein though many keep their healthes, yet many are infected, (so that at most they are good Subjects but during the Popes pleasure) and the rest are in more danger, then if they were out of it.

To conclude, I beleve that what I have said may at least serve (if he will descend to consider it) to move Mr. Mountague to a further search, and for *Memorandums* in it, which if it do, he will be soone able to give as much better Reasons for my conclusion, (that such a Visible Church neither need, nor can be shewed) as his understanding is degrees above mine. I hope also by comparing the body of their beleefe, and the ground of their authority, the little that can be drawn out of the fourth of the *Ephesians*, with the Miriads of contradiction in Transubstantiation, he will come to see, that their Pillars are too weak to hold up any building, be it never so light, and their building is too heavie to be held up by any Pillars, be they never so strong, and trust he will return to us, whom he will find that he hath causelessly left, if he be (which I doubt not) so ingenuous, as not to hold an opinion, because he hath turned to it, nor to stay, onely because he went.

F I N I S.

